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The Editor of Notes & Queries
With the compts. of the Author
Charles Edmonds.

April 1870.

THE ISHAM REPRINTS.

SHAKESPEARE'S VENUS AND ADONIS.

1599.

Prefaces only —

This work is printed for the ſubſcribers only, and the impreſſion ſtrictly limited to one hundred and thirty-one copies, twenty-five being on large paper, and ſix on vellum. Every copy is numbered and ſigned by the editor.

Small Paper. N°.

VENUS AND ADONIS,

FROM THE HITHERTO UNKNOWN

EDITION OF 1599;

THE PASSIONATE PILGRIME,

FROM THE FIRST EDITION OF 1599; OF

WHICH ONLY TWO COPIES

ARE KNOWN;

EPIGRAMMES,

WRITTEN BY SIR JOHN DAVIES,

AND

CERTAINE OF OVID'S ELEGIES,

TRANSLATED BY

CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE,

FROM A RARE EARLY EDITION.

EDITED BY CHARLES EDMONDS,

EDITOR OF THE POETRY OF THE

ANTI-JACOBIN.

LONDON:

HENRY SOTHERAN AND CO., 136, STRAND.

1870.

CHISWICK PRESS:—PRINTED BY WHITTINGHAM AND WILKINS,
TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE.

THE LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SANTA BARBARA

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE preſent volume contains accurate reprints of three very rare and important works, which I had the good fortune to diſcover while examining the large collection of old books accumulated during a period of nearly one hundred and fifty years by ſucceſſive members of the ancient family of Iſham.

But this was far from being the only curious volume found on the ſame auſpicious occaſion, for, in addition to a large number of Poetical Works of the Elizabethan era, of the greateſt rarity and value, there were brought to light upwards of a dozen contemporary works, chiefly poetical, hitherto utterly unknown to literature. All theſe volumes, with but ſlight exceptions, were in perfect and moſt deſirable condition, both inſide and out, being either in the vellum binding of the period, or what was more remarkable, and almoſt unexampled in the caſe of tracts of that age, in the pamphlet form, with the edges entirely uncut.

The ſcene of this ſingular diſcovery, which has been

correctly deſcribed as "unprecedented in literature," was an upper lumber-room, far away from the general library (alſo containing many valuable and rare old works), at Lamport Hall, near Northampton, a large and well-preſerved manſion, remarkable within for its beautiful old Italian cabinets, Paliſſy ware, paintings, and other precious works of art; and without, for its delightful gardens and ſplendid rockery, which make it one of the glories of the county. The houſe, after being for more than three centuries the property of the Truſſels, was through a daughter's marriage transferred to the family of Vere, Earl of Oxford, by whom it was ſold to Sir William Cecil, and afterwards to two brothers, Robert and John Iſham, whoſe progenitors had been extenſive landowners in Northamptonſhire even before the time of William the Conqueror. This John Iſham, Eſq., a mercer, who became ſole poſſeſſor about the year 1560, was the fourth ſon of Euſeby Iſham, of Pytchley, and the founder of the Lamport branch of the family. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Barker, citizen of London, and had by her ſeveral children, of whom Thomas, his eldeſt ſon, married Elizabeth, daughter of Chriſtopher Nicholſon, and dying in December, 1605, left iſſue one ſon, John, who was knighted by King James I.

This Thomas Iſham appears, from the family records, to have been a man of conſiderable literary acquirements, as well as an enlightened bibliomaniac. His grandfather, Nicholas Barker, was, there is reaſon to ſuppoſe, one of the great family of Queen's printers of that name, who even before entering that profeſſion, were perſons of rank and opulence. Theſe circumſtances led, in all probability, to Thomas Iſham's aſſo-

ciating with many of the literary characters and printers of his day, and thus enabled him to acquire the many curious and rare books accumulated at Lamport. They were obtained moſt likely immediately on publication, and depoſited in this country-ſeat, where they were kept ſecure from depredation and ill-uſage, as well as from ſuch public calamities as the Fire of London and the Civil Wars, which wrecked irretrievably many fine collections, both in town and country.

The firſt collector and preſerver of theſe curious books, therefore, was Thomas Iſham, and his name and handwriting appear in ſome of the tracts. Great additions, however, were ſubſequently made to the collection by his ſucceſſors, particularly by Sir Juſtinian Iſham, the fifth baronet, who built the library and altered the houſe to its preſent form in the time of King George I. It had, however, undergone various alterations and improvements in the time of Charles I., from a deſign by John Webb, the ſon-in-law of Inigo Jones. The library becoming too ſmall for the accumulations, a large quantity of the commoner works, with many other very old, and, to an inexperienced eye, comparatively worthleſs ones, moſtly in an unbound condition, were removed to a garret. This room was for many years kept carefully locked up, and was never allowed to be entered, Sir Juſtinian Iſham, D.C.L., who died in 1818, prohibiting to every one but the butler the uſe of the key, and that only after the Baronet had become too infirm to walk upſtairs himſelf. He was equally averſe to any uſe being made of the books in the large library below ſtairs. Since his time, however, the garret in queſtion has been thrown open and uſed for various purpoſes, the books

ſtill remaining in it as before; but no knowledge was extant of their peculiar value. In this ſtate they remained till September, 1867, when Sir Charles Iſham requeſted me, as the repreſentative of the publiſhers of this work, to report upon his library generally, and I was thus ſo fortunate as to bring to light a collection, in its ſpecial features unequalled in extent, value, and importance, and which, but for this circumſtance, might have remained for many ſucceeding years unknown, "unhonour'd, and unſung."

The intereſt excited by the diſcovery of theſe books has led to the reprint of that volume, which is, on ſeveral accounts, the moſt precious of them all; the firſt tract in it being a hitherto unknown edition of the earlieſt production of him whoſe name has been characteriſed as "the greateſt in our literature—as the greateſt in all literature," for whatever doubts may exiſt as to the dates of the compoſition and the publication of other works of Shakeſpeare, one thing ſeems certain, namely, that his "Venus and Adonis" was not only his firſt-publiſhed but his firſt-written work, partially, if not entirely, compoſed before he left Warwickſhire, and kept by him till an opportunity occurred of giving it to the world.

And, as my diſcovery of the edition of 1599 has altered the received chronology of the various early impreſſions, incidentally leading to the finding of another unknown edition; and, as my reſearches on the ſubject have enabled me to correct ſome errors in previous accounts of them, I purpoſe to preface the preſent reprint by a ſhort deſcription of each edition. Thoſe preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum I have myſelf examined, and for careful accounts of the others I am indebted to Mr. H. S. Harper, of the Bodleian Library.

LIST OF EDITIONS.

I.

VENVS AND ADONIS *Vilia miretur vulgus: mihi flauus Apollo Pocula Caſtalia plena miniſtret aqua.* LONDON Imprinted by Richard Field, and are to be ſold at the ſigne of the white Greyhound in Paules Church-yard. 1593. [4to. 27 leaves.]

This is the Firſt Edition, printed with remarkable accuracy, doubtleſs from the author's own manuſcript, by an excellent printer, Richard Field, a native of Stratford, and the ſon of the Henry Field, whoſe goods John Shakeſpeare was employed to value in 1592. To the circumſtance of the printer being the fellow-townſman and probably the friend and aſſociate of the poet, may be attributed the honour of his being entruſted with the publication of the firſt work of the bard.

The printer's device is an anchor, with the motto, "Anchora Spei," which were adopted, with a ſlight alteration in the anchor, in conſequence of their having been uſed by his father-in-law, Thomas Vautrollier, a celebrated and learned printer, who reſided in Black Friars, and to whoſe buſineſs, at his death in 1589, Field ſucceeded and continued in till after 1600.

This poem was licenſed by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (Whitgift), and entered in the Stationers' Regiſter the 18th April, 1593. It is dedicated, like the ſucceeding editions, to Henrie Wriotheſley, Earle of Southampton and Baron of Titchfield. This dedication, and that of the "Rape of Lucrece," which was publiſhed in the next year, to the ſame patron, are the only proſe compoſitions of Shakeſpeare not in a dramatic form which have come down to us.

Only one copy of this Firſt Edition of the "Venus and Adonis" is known, forming part of the Malone collection, in the Bodleian Library, and for which that eminent critic gave £25. He had long been in ſearch of it, for in his preface, 1790, he regrets his not having been able to procure the "Firſt impreſſion." In 1866 a lithographic fac-ſimile edition was made by E. W. Aſhbee, at the expenſe of Mr. J. O. Halliwell: only 50 copies were printed, of which 19 were deſtroyed, and the impreſſions removed from the ſtones.

This unique copy meaſures $7\frac{3}{8}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

II.

VENVS AND ADONIS. *Vilia miretur vulgus, &c.* 1594.

The Second Edition, alſo in quarto, conſiſting of the ſame number of leaves as the Firſt, and likewiſe printed by Richard Field. The title-page alſo is exactly ſimilar, except in the alteration of the date.

This edition "followed hard upon" the preceding one, for it muſt have been printed early in 1594, as the transfer of the copy-right from Field to Hariſon is recorded at Stationers' Hall as having taken place the 25th June, 1594. This rapid ſucceſſion is a ſufficient proof of the immediate popularity of the poem.

The text of this edition generally coincides with that of the Firſt; but the occaſional deviations are always improvements, which ſeems to ſhow that this impreſſion, like the Firſt, had the benefit of the author's reviſion—a fact intereſting on ſeveral accounts. In this opinion I am confirmed by the authority of a moſt competent judge, Mr. J. P. Collier, who, after declaring his mature conviction, that in no inſtance did Shakeſpeare authorize the publication of a play, but allowed moſt mangled and deformed copies of ſeveral of his greateſt works to be circulated for many years, without expoſing the fraud—an indifference ſhared by many, if not by moſt, of his contemporaries—feels quite as ſtrongly convinced with reſpect to the poems, eſpecially "Venus and Adonis," and "Lucrece," that Shakeſpeare, being inſtrumental in their publication, and more anxious about their correctneſs, did ſee, at leaſt, the firſt editions through the preſs. Theſe alterations are perpetuated in the ſucceeding impreſſions. Among them I may notice the following:—Sign. A v. *rev.* (line 123), where *be* is advantageouſly ſubſtituted for *are*, apparently on account of the collocation of three words of ſimilar ſound, *where*, *there*, *are;* ſign. A vi. *rev.* (line 186), *face*, *I* inſtead of *face I;* ſign. A viii. *rev.* (line 266), *girths* for *girthes*; ſign. B ii. (line 353), where *tender* ſeems, on a little conſideration, an improvement on *tenderer;* ſign. B ii. *rev.* (line 363) *alablaſter* for *allablaſter;* ſign. B v. (line 484), *world* for *earth;* ſign. C viii. *rev.* (line 1041), *ugly* for *ougly;* ſign. D. iii. (line 1168), *ſprung* for *ſproong*, etc. The patron's name is here ſpelled Wriotheſly, inſtead of Wriotheſley, as in the firſt edition. In ſome other impreſſions it appears as Wriotheſlie—another proof of the unſettled orthography of that age.

This impreſſion was unknown to Malone, who erroneouſly ſuppoſed that of 1596 to be the ſecond edition. In Mr. Davies' valuable "Memoir of the York Preſs," (1 vol. 8vo. Nichols, 1868) it is ſtated that in the catalogue of the books belonging to John Foſter, bookſeller there, who died in 1616, an edition of the "Venus and Adonis" is valued at *threepence*, and "The Paſſionate Pilgrime," at *fivepence*: unfortunately to neither of theſe items is the date of the edition attached.

Only three copies of this edition are known—I. The one in the Grenville collection in the Britiſh Muſeum, which formerly belonged to the eminent collector, Mr. Jolley, who had purchaſed it in Lancaſhire for a mere trifle: unfortunately it is cut cloſe and mended. It meaſures $6\frac{3}{16}$ by $4\frac{7}{8}$ in., and is richly bound in olive morocco. It realized at his ſale in 1844 the ſum of £116. II. Mr. H. Huth's, a fair copy, very ſuperior to the preceding one, meaſuring $7\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{13}{16}$ in. It formerly belonged to Mr. G. Daniel, at whoſe ſale, in 1864, it produced £240. III. The copy in the Bodleian Library, bequeathed by Mr. Caldecott, meaſuring $6\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{3}{8}$ in.

III.

VENVS AND ADONIS. *Vilia miretur vulgus, &c.* Imprinted at London by R. F. for Iohn Hariſon, 1596. [Sm. 8vo. 27 leaves.]

This edition, like the preceding ones, iſſued from the preſs of Richard Field, who, though he had parted with his property in it, was ſtill employed to print it. It bears his device of the anchor, but a ſmaller and leſs elaborately executed one than that on the "Lucrece" of 1594. It muſt have been publiſhed early in the year 1596, for Hariſon transferred the copyright to Leake in June, after having poſſeſſed it only two years. The text cloſely follows that of the preceding impreſſion. I have noticed, however, at leaſt a dozen freſh errors; but there are, on the other hand, a few alterations, which are ſometimes improvements—both of which changes are doubtleſs due to the printer.

Only two copies are known—I. The one in the Malone collection in the Bodleian Library, meaſuring $4\frac{1}{4}$ by 3 inches. The other, which is a very fine one, meaſuring $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches, and half bound, after being ſold at Mr. Bolland's ſale at Evans's in 1840, for £91, to Mr. B. H. Bright, was purchaſed at his ſale in 1845, by Mr. G.

Daniel for £91 10s. At the sale of the library of this latter distinguished collector, in 1864, it was secured by the British Museum for the sum of £336. In the beginning of the volume is a manuscript note from the eminent bookseller, Thomas Rodd, written in the auction-room during the sale, warning Mr. Daniel that there was no likelihood of his obtaining it under £100: also another in the handwriting of Mr. Daniel.

IV.

VENVS AND ADONIS. *Vilia miretur vulgus, &c.* Imprinted at London for William Leake, dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Greyhound. 1599. [Sm. 8vo. 27 leaves.]

A HITHERTO-UNDESCRIBED EDITION, AND FROM THE ONLY COPY OF IT KNOWN TO EXIST, THE PRESENT REPRINT HAS BEEN MADE. It is, consequently, in every sense of the word, UNIQUE.

This most precious volume I had the good fortune to discover in a lumber-room at Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire, the seat of Sir Charles Isham, Bart. in September, 1867. Bound in the same vellum cover, are "The Passionate Pilgrime," of the same date; presumed to be the first edition, and of which only one other copy is known; and the suppressed "Epigrammes and Elegies" of Davies and Marlowe, and the latter's versions of "Ovid's Elegies;" all of which I have likewise reprinted. The volume throughout is wonderfully clean and fresh, bound in the wrapping vellum of the period, with strings, and with no outward indication of its contents. It measures $4\frac{5}{8}$ by $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

The text is evidently a copy of that of previous editions; but while a few corrections are introduced, they bear no proportion to the misprints, which are such as could have arisen only from the absence of that indispensable supervision which is now exercised by the corrector of the press. When this edition was discovered, it was imagined that it might be identical with the one mentioned below (No. V.), preserved in the Bodleian, which, being without a title-page, had had attached to it the supposititious date of 1600, in consequence of its being bound up with the unique copy of the "Lucrece" of that date, "printed by I. H. for Iohn Harrison," which had been given by Dr. Farmer to Malone.

Not only does a comparative examination prove that theſe are different impreſſions, but as the text of this edition of 1599 agrees generally with that of 1596, it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed that the former preceded the edition with the preſumed date of 1600.

On the diſcovery of this edition, a limited reprint was ſuggeſted for the purpoſe of perpetuating a curioſity in literature; and as the great intereſt conſiſts in an accurate reproduction of the text as it appears in the volume, the moſt ſcrupulous pains have been taken by the editor to prevent any deviation from the original; conſequently no attempts have been made to correct even palpable errors. The type has been imitated as cloſely as poſſible, and occupies the ſame length of page as in the original; while the title-page, ornamental letters, and head and tail-pieces, have been cut in fac-ſimile.

Though this poem achieved ſuch ſudden popularity that the edition of 1593 was ſucceeded by another early in 1594, we know of no re-impreſſion till that of 1596; but it is hardly likely that the new proprietor, John Hariſon, was not called upon for a new one before this. Early in the latter year he publiſhed what was doubtleſs intended as a popular edition, in ſmall octavo ſize, the previous ones being in quarto; and then, after having poſſeſſed the copyright only two years, he diſpoſed of it to William Leake, who, according to preſent appearances, produced no edition till three years afterwards, in 1599, and the ſame interval elapſed before his edition of 1602 was publiſhed. I lay no ſtreſs on the ſuppoſititious edition of 1600, for this was evidently, from the ſtate of the text, ſubſequent to that of 1599. But the moſt remarkable circumſtance is that no editions between thoſe of 1602 and 1617, at which latter date Leake parted with the copyright to William Barrett, are known to exiſt.

There are grounds, therefore, for believing that ſeveral editions of this poem diſappeared ſoon after the firſt publication of it. It is ſcarcely poſſible that impreſſions of a work of ſuch ſplendour, and ſo ſuited to the public taſte—ſo ſuperior to every production of the kind that had preceded it—in fact, a work that had created in the minds of readers a new ſenſation—ſhould not have followed each other with greater rapidity than would be evidenced by the few which have come down to our time. When we conſider that of the firſt edition only one copy has ſurvived; of the ſecond only three; of that of 1596 only two; of our preſent edition only one; of the ſuppoſititious edition of 1600 only one;

of that of 1602 only two; of the Edinburgh edition by John Wreittoun, 1627, only two; and when we reflect that of many other popular contemporary works not one copy is now known to exiſt, there is nothing unreaſonable in the ſuppoſition that more editions of the "Venus and Adonis,"—a poem of all others which would be read with avidity both by the learned and the unlearned, and conſequently more liable to ſpeedy deſtruction—were printed than has been hitherto ſuſpected.

For the diſappearance of ſo many works obvious reaſons may be aſſigned, ſuch as their popularity among all claſſes, their continual uſe, and the natural careleſſneſs of common readers, the limited number printed, and their ſmall ſize; while the copies in the poſſeſſion of a higher order of ſociety no doubt ſhared the fate of many other valuable objects in the Fire of London, the Civil Wars, etc.

But another cauſe was likewiſe in operation, and this was the frequent ſeizure of books by the Privy Council. The power of the court in thoſe days to inflict vengeance on its victims was evidenced in various ways, and in printing and publiſhing matters was provided by that moſt arbitrary decree of the Star Chamber, dated 23rd June, 1585, which in addition to other regulations, gave unlimited authority to the eccleſiaſtical authorities to ſeize and deſtroy whatever books they thought proper. A notable inſtance of this interference with books already printed took place in this very year, 1599, at Stationers' Hall, when a number of objectionable works were condemned to the flames, and ſpecial admonitions given then and there to the printers, among whom were ſome of the moſt eminent of the time, including Adam Iſlip, Edmund Bollifant, Valentine Simmes, John Windet, Richard Field, the original printer of the "Venus and Adonis," and others.

Although only one ſuch comprehenſive literary *auto da fè* is recorded, ſeizures of books ſo conſtantly took place, that the authorities would think it unneceſſary to regiſter them, and the difficulty of arriving at the truth of even recorded facts is illuſtrated by the circumſtance that Warton and his copyiſts uniformly aſſert that in the aforeſaid conflagration Hall's "Satires" and Cutwode's "Caltha Poetarum" were included; but in the "Order" for this burning, ſigned by Archbiſhop Whitgift and Biſhop Bancroft, preſerved in Stationers' Hall, and which I for the firſt time printed verbatim, in "Notes and Queries," 3rd Ser. vol. xii. it is expreſſly ſtated that theſe two works were reprieved ("ſtaid"); and Willobie's "Aviſa," not previouſly included in the warrant, was

directed "to bee called in." But this ſame order reveals two other important facts, the firſt of which is that among other arbitrary powers granted by the aforenamed decree of the Star Chamber, of 23rd June, 1585, the Privy Council, repreſented by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Biſhop of London, claimed the abſolute right not only of ſeizing any book they choſe, even after its having been licenſed, but of prohibiting its reprint altogether, as in the caſe of the works of Tom Naſh and Gabriel Harvey, all of which were to "be taken whereſoever they maye be found, and none of theire bookes bee ever printed hereafter." The ſecond relates to a practice we ſhould have little ſuſpected, namely, the obtaining of licenſes to print under falſe pretences. This is plainly evidenced by the following clauſe in the ſaid order: "That thoughe any booke of the nature of theiſe heretofore expreſſed ſhalbe broughte unto you under the hands of the Lo. Archebiſshop of Canterburye, or the Lo. B. of London, that the ſaid booke ſhall not bee printed untill the Mr. or wardens have acquainted the ſaid Lo. Arp. or the Lo. B. with the ſame to knowe whether it be theire hand or no."

Without, however, laying any ſtreſs on the probability of this or any other edition of "Venus and Adonis" having been ſeized for its licentiouſneſs, we have reaſon from other ſources to ſuppoſe it was never favourably regarded by the eccleſiaſtical authorities, although they had duly licenſed it. But it had been brought out under the protection of a powerful patron, who was then a favourite at court: no ſlight advantage in thoſe times; as is hinted at in his "Account of Marlowe and his Writings," by Mr. Dyce, who ſays, "We may wonder at the inconſiſtency of the book-inquiſitors of thoſe days, who condemned to the flames Marlowe's 'Ovid's Elegies,' Marſton's 'Metamorphoſis of Pygmalion's Image,' nay, even Hall's 'Satires,' and yet ſpared Harington's 'Orlando Furioſo,' which equals the original in licentiouſneſs, and is occaſionally ſo groſs in expreſſion that it would have ſhocked Arioſto. The truth may be, that 'the authorities' did not chooſe to meddle with a tranſlation which was not only dedicated to the Virgin Queen, but had been executed at her deſire."

But curiouſly enough in this ſame year, 1599, it was the miſfortune of Lord Southampton to feel the ſtings of court diſgrace. He had married the year previouſly, without the conſent of the Queen, Elizabeth Vernon, a couſin of Lord Eſſex. Under any circumſtances this would have been a grave offence in the

eyes of a ſovereign who was unreaſonably jealous of any free-will in matrimonial matters on the part of her favourite courtiers. But in this caſe the royal diſpleaſure was aggravated by the ill-judged conduct of Lord Eſſex who, inſtead of realizing the expectations of his friends in his conduct of the expedition againſt the Iriſh rebels, came back diſhonoured. In the chorus to the fifth act of "Henry V." Shakeſpeare, the friend of both Eſſex and Southampton, thus anticipates his triumphant return :—

"But now behold,
In the quick forge and working houſe of thought,
How London doth pour out her citizens!
The mayor, and all his brethren, in beſt ſort,—
Like to the ſenators of the antique Rome,
With the plebeians ſwarming at their heels,—
Go forth, and fetch their conquering Cæſar in :
As, by a lower, but by loving likelihood,
Were now the general of our gracious empreſs
(As, in good time, he may) from Ireland coming,
Bringing rebellion broached on his ſword,
How many would the peaceful city quit
To welcome him?"

But his reception was very different! His unauthorized truce with thoſe he had been ſent to ſubdue and his unexpected return from Ireland, brought down upon himſelf the cenſures of the court, and what was worſe, thoſe of a ſovereign then ſurrounded by his perſonal enemies. Southampton was peremptorily diſmiſſed by Elizabeth from the command to which Eſſex had appointed him in that country, and he felt no inclination to ſhow himſelf at court. It was at this period, as appears by a letter from Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sydney, preſerved in the Sydney Papers, that "My Lord Southampton and Lord Rutland came not to the court; the one doth but very ſeldom: they paſs away the time in London merely in going to plays every day." Rutland alſo was connected with Eſſex by family ties, having married the daughter of Lady Eſſex by her firſt huſband, the accompliſhed Sir Philip Sydney.

Under theſe untoward circumſtances, it is poſſible that a printer might deem it adviſable to defer publiſhing a work which, though licenſed ſome years before, had always been viewed with ungracious eyes by the diſpenſers of authority; which was dedicated to a conſpicuous courtier now under a cloud and expoſed to the malice of

powerful enemies, and written by a poet, who though protected by popular favour and by admirers in high places, muſt have offended the foes of Eſſex by his loudly proclaimed praiſe. Theſe are mere conjectures, but everything connected with our bard is ſo intereſting that no fact at all bearing upon his works ſhould paſs unnoticed even though it be put forth by ſo humble a worker and admirer as the penner of the preſent lines.

V.

VENVS AND ADONIS. (1600?)

In the Bodleian Library is an edition in ſmall 8vo. with a manuſcript title-page, purporting that the volume was "printed by I. H. for Iohn Harriſon. 1600." This date, as mentioned in the preceding article, was probably ſelected on account of this impreſſion being bound up with the "Lucrece" of that year. But Mr. Halliwell, in his folio Shakeſpeare, had already pointed out that no edition of 1600 with ſuch an imprint could have exiſted, for Hariſon had aſſigned the copyright to Leake four years previouſly.

"This edition," ſays the Cambridge editor (the Rev. W. G. Clark), "was printed from that of 1596," a concluſion from which I preſume to differ. From a compariſon of the two, I am of opinion that the newly diſcovered edition of 1599 is copied from the impreſſion of 1596, and is prior to the one in queſtion. The firſt four editions generally agree, but with this impreſſion of 1600 begins a freſh ſeries of readings, which are copied in the ſubſequent ones; a fact confirmed by the Cambridge editor, as he ſays, "It contains many erroneous readings, due, it would ſeem, partly to careleſſneſs and partly to wilful alteration, which were repeated in later copies."

This volume meaſures $4\frac{9}{16}$ by $2\frac{9}{10}$ inches, and contains 27 leaves, as do the other editions.

VI.

VENVS AND ADONIS. *Vilia miretur vulgus, &c.* Imprinted at London for *William Leake*, dwelling at the ſigne of the Holy Ghoſt, in Paules Churchyard. 1602. [Sm. 8vo. 27 leaves.]

Of this edition it has been diſcovered by one of the editors of the "Cambridge Shakeſpeare," (the Rev. W. G. Clark), that two

distinct impressions were made, of each of which only a single copy exists; one preserved in the British Museum, and the other in the Bodleian Library. I will give the account of them in his own words.

"The imprint of the former is as follows:

"Imprinted at London for *William Leake*,
"dwelling at the signe of the Holy Ghost, in
"Paules Church-yard. 1602."

"The title-page of the Bodleian copy is the same as that of the Museum copy, excepting that it has '*vulgus: mibi*' for '*vulgus, mihi*,' and 'Pauls Churchyard' for 'Paules Church-yard,' and the printer's device is different. The similarity of title-page and identity of date have led to the supposition that these were copies of the same edition, but a comparison of the two proves to demonstration that they were different editions. The Bodleian copy is very inferior to the Museum copy in typography, in the quality of the paper, and in accuracy. The Museum copy formerly belonged to the late Mr. George Daniel, who has written in a fly-leaf the following note: 'No other copy of this excessively rare edition is known. Mr. Evans was wrong in stating that a copy is in the Malone Collection in the Bodleian Library. No copy is mentioned in the catalogue, nor is there one to be found there.' Mr. Daniel had overlooked the existence of the Bodleian copy of 1602; but, as it turns out, his own copy is unique after all. That in the Bodleian has the autograph of R. Burton, author of the "Anatomy of Melancholy." Neither was printed from the other, but both from the supposititious edition of 1600."

The copy in the British Museum measures $5\frac{3}{16}$ by $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches. It was formerly George Steevens's, and has, in addition to a MS. note on the base of the title-page, the following in his handwriting, together with others by Mr. Jas. Bindley and Mr. G. Daniel. It is printed on thick paper, and is in good condition, with the exception of four leaves, which are mended, and is bound in yellow morocco.

"Bought at the Auction of Dr. Chauncy's library April 15. 1790. 1745. for o 8*s*. o*d*. Of this edition of Shakspeare's Venus & Adonis I have met with no other copy. G. S." "Bought at Mr. Steevens's Sale, May 21st, 1800 for £1 11*s*. 6*d*, No. 1361. J E." "Bought at Mr. Strettle's Sale 13 May 1841 at Evans's: Lot 350: for £40 8*s* 6*d*. At Mr. Bindley's Sale this Copy was

ſold for more than £40. George Daniel. Canonbury." The fact, however, is that at Bindley's ſale in 1819 it was purchaſed by Mr. Strettell for £42; and at his ſale in 1841 it was bought in for £26 5s., and afterwards ſold for £40 to Mr. Daniel, who parted with it to the Britiſh Muſeum.

The Bodleian copy meaſures $5\frac{9}{16}$ by $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Another is preſerved at Shirburn Caſtle, Oxfordſhire, the ſeat of the Earl of Macclesfield.

VII.

VENUS *AND* ADONIS. *Vilia miretur vulgus, &c. LONDON*, Printed for *W.B.* 1617. [Small 8vo. 27 leaves.]

"A copy of this edition," ſays Bohn's Lowndes, "is in the Bodleian Library. (Mr. Dyce mentions an edition of 1616, but he is the only authority for it.)" It would appear from Lowndes that no copy has been ſold by auction; a proof of its extreme rarity. In March, 1620, William Barrett aſſigned the copyright to John Parker.

VIII.

VENVS AND ADONIS. *Vilia miretur vulgus, &c. LONDON*, Printed for *I.P.* 1620. [Small 8vo. 27 leaves.]

Of this edition, of which Lowndes cannot indicate the ſale of a ſingle copy, the Cambridge editor ſays, "A copy exiſts in the Capell collection. Dr. Bandinel alſo purchaſed one for the Bodleian, but it cannot now be found."

The Capell copy is bound up with "The Paſſionate Pilgrime" of 1599; and formerly belonged to the antiquary, Tom Martin, of Palgrave, the hiſtorian of Thetford, whoſe autograph it bears. A previous poſſeſſor purchaſed the volume for three halfpence. It meaſures $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

John Parker held the copyright until May 7, 1626, when he parted with it to John Haviland and John Wright, ſen.

IX.

VENVS AND ADONIS. *Vilia miretur vulgus, &c. EDINBVRGH,* Printed by *Iohn Wreittoun,* and are to bee ſold in his Shop a litle be-*neath the Salt Trone.* 1627. [Small 8vo. 22 leaves.]

Of this edition only two copies are known, one of which is preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum. The Cambridge editor "believes that it was printed from a manuſcript which the writer had copied from the Bodleian copy of the impreſſion of 1602, but in which he had introduced, probably by happy conjecture, ſeveral emendations agreeing with the text of the three earlieſt editions." Beloe, in his "Anecdotes of Literature," erroneouſly gives the date as 1607.

The Muſeum copy belonged to George Chalmers, at whoſe ſale in March, 1842, it was purchaſed by Mr. B. H. Bright for £37 10*s.* At the latter's ſale, in 1845, it was ſecured by the Britiſh Muſeum for the ſum of £35. Its ſhape is peculiar, being an elongated ſmall 8vo. meaſuring $5\frac{5}{16}$ by $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches. The title-page is mounted and a few leaves are mended. Page 13 is miſprinted; 32 is miſprinted 23; and the laſt page, 46, is miſprinted 47. It has Geo. Chalmers's book-plate, and is bound in modern calf.

The other copy, which, ſtrange to ſay, is in an uncut ſtate, was ſold at Sotheby's, in 1864, for £115. It had been found by a country bookſeller in a lot of worthleſs books at a ſale.

X.

VENVS *AND* ADONIS *Vilia miretur vulgus, &c.* LONDON, Printed by J. H. and are to be ſold by *Francis Coules* in the *Old Baily* without Newgate 1630. [Small 8vo. 27 leaves.]

This is apparently an unique copy of a hitherto doubtful edition, preſerved among Anthony à Wood's books, which were recently removed from the Aſhmolean Muſeum to the Bodleian Library. It was diſcovered by Mr. H. S. Harper, to whom I am indebted for an account of it.

The tradition that an edition had been really printed in 1630, was therefore founded on fact. Mr. Halliwell, in his folio Shakeſpeare,

obſerves, "Another edition is ſaid to have appeared at London in 1630, the only authority for which is a ſtatement in ſome copies of Lintot's reprints of 1711, copies of thoſe reprints varying in the ſeparate titles, that he copied the Venus and Adonis from an edition printed at London in 1630."

The title-page, including the figure of a Cupid, ſo exactly reſembles that in the impreſſion of 1636 by the ſame printer, with the exception of the date, which is unequivocally 1630, that at firſt ſight the date and the initials of the printer, which are J. H. inſtead of I. H., might be conſidered miſprints, but a comparative examination of the two books proves them to be diſtinct editions. The text alſo differs in various places from that of the copy with manuſcript title-page mentioned below.

This volume meaſures $4\frac{5}{8}$ by $3\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

XI.

VENVS AND ADONIS. *Vilia miretur vulgus, &c.* [Small 8vo. 27 leaves.] (1630?)

In the Bodleian Library is an edition wanting the printed title-page, which has been ſupplied by one in manuſcript, purporting that the book was printed in London in the year 1630, and it has accordingly been catalogued as if printed in that year. It might have been ſuppoſed that this is identical with the recently-diſcovered edition of 1630, but Mr. Harper, on comparing them, finds them to be different impreſſions.

"Whatever be the true date," ſays the Rev. W. G. Clark (who was not aware, when he printed the invaluable Cambridge Shakeſpeare in 1866, of the exiſtence of the edition of *Coules*, 1630), it is certainly earlier than that of Coules, 1636."

This volume meaſures $4\frac{11}{16}$ by $2\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

XII.

VENVS *AND* ADONIS. *Vilia miretur vulgus, &c.* LONDON, Printed by I. H. and are to be ſold by *Francis Coules* in the *Old Baily* without Newgate. 1636. [Sm. 8vo. 27 leaves.]

The title-page of this edition bears ſome reſemblance to that dated 1630 by the ſame printer, deſcribed by me as No. X., with

the exception of the date, &c. Minute differences alſo exiſt in the text, which prove them to be diſtinct impreſſions.

It is a tolerably printed and very rare edition. Though Hibbert's copy produced only £1 14s. by public auction in 1829, one was purchaſed at Sotheby's in May, 1856, for £49 10s. by Mr. H. Stevens, at whoſe ſale, in Auguſt, 1857, it brought the ſum of £56, having then been bound in morocco by Bedford.

Hibbert's copy, now in the Britiſh Muſeum, bears the appearance of having been well read: it is ſtained, and a few leaves are mended, but generally it is in good condition. It meaſures $4\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{3}{16}$ inches, and is bound in ruſſia.

XIII.

VENVS AND ADONIS. 1675. [8vo.]

In the Bodleian catalogue, ſays the Cambridge editor, a copy is mentioned of the date 1675, but none ſuch exiſts in the library itſelf. It may be the edition deſcribed by Mr. Halliwell as "a chap-book impreſſion, 'Printed by Elizabeth Hodgkinſonne, for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clark,' a quaint-looking diminutive volume of extreme rarity." According to Bohn's Lowndes, a copy was ſold at Naſſau's ſale, in 1824, bound in ruſſia, for £2 5s.

Some time previous to the year 1655, the copyright paſſed into the hands of Edward Wright, who aſſigned it to William Gilbertſon, the 4th April, 1655. No edition, however, between thoſe of 1636 and 1675 is known to have ſurvived, which ſtrengthens my opinion already expreſſed that ſeveral impreſſions have diſappeared without "leaving a wrack behind."

THE ISHAM REPRINTS.

THE PASSIONATE PILGRIME.

1599.

THE PASSIONATE PILGRIME,

A COLLECTION OF FUGITIVE POETRY PUBLISHED UNDER THE NAME OF SHAKESPEARE.

NEW EDITION,

ACCURATELY REPRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL IMPRESSION OF 1599, IN THE POSSESSION OF

SIR CHARLES ISHAM, BART.

WITH A PREFACE,

IN WHICH THE CLAIMS OF RICHARD BARNFIELD TO THE AUTHORSHIP OF TWO OF THE PIECES ARE VINDICATED FROM THE OBJECTIONS OF MR. J. PAYNE COLLIER,

BY CHARLES EDMONDS,

EDITOR OF THE POETRY OF THE ANTI-JACOBIN.

LONDON:

PRINTED AT THE CHISWICK PRESS.

1870.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THIS remarkable collection of fugitive pieces, publiſhed under a fanciful title to diſtinguiſh it from ſimilar miſcellanies, as well as probably to induce the public to ſuppoſe that the whole was a new poem by Shakeſpeare, although purporting to be ſolely his production, really conſiſts of poems by various contemporary writers. In the words of Mr. Dyce, in the Memoir prefixed to Shakeſpeare's Sonnets, lxxvii. ed. Pickering, 1832: "'The Paſſionate Pilgrime' appears to have been given to the preſs without his conſent or even his knowledge, and how much of it proceeded from his pen cannot be diſtinctly aſcertained." But the object of the publiſher, William Jaggard, in thus attributing the whole to Shakeſpeare is ſufficiently apparent;—the poet's great popularity would be likely to make the publication a ſucceſsful venture, while his known indifference to the fate of his works would render his calling attention to the fraud extremely improbable.

That William Jaggard was generally unſcrupulous in his buſineſs tranſactions is ſhown by his conduct in the publication of another edition of this work, called on the title-page "the third," printed in 1612. The

"ſecond" edition ſeems to have diſappeared altogether, no copy being known to exiſt. This third impreſſion contains all the poems that appeared in that of 1599, and here again all are attributed to Shakeſpeare, notwithſtanding it muſt have been known by this time that the whole could not have been his production. But Jaggard, not content with his firſt deception on the public, has here, with an effrontery almoſt ludicrous, ventured to add to the original title the expreſſion,—"or, Certaine Amorous Sonnets between Venus and Adonis;" although only four of them bear upon thoſe perſonages; his intention evidently being to take advantage of the celebrity of the poem bearing their names. He, however, ſoon met with his match, in conſequence of having without authority inſerted in the ſame volume two of Ovid's Epiſtles, which, from the ambiguous wording of the title-page, might alſo be ſuppoſed to have been from the pen of Shakeſpeare. Theſe had really been tranſlated by Thomas Heywood, as was no doubt known to Jaggard, he having been the printer of the work in which they appeared, and which was publiſhed with Heywood's name in 1609, under the title of "Troia Britannica, or Great Britaines Troy; a Poem, etc. London, printed by W. Jaggard:" folio. What ſteps Heywood, who was more ſenſitive than Shakeſpeare on the ſcore of his publications, took in the matter, will appear further on.

I am the more particular in thus calling attention to the natural laxity of Jaggard's principles, as it will enable us to judge how he would act in any other inſtance in which his intereſt was concerned: as to the preſent publication, unfortunately, his equivocal proceedings have been the means of involving an intereſting literary

ſubject in conſiderable doubt, and of throwing obloquy on parties little deſerving of it.

That we may underſtand the peculiar bearings of the caſe, I will give a complete liſt of the various pieces of which "The Paſſionate Pilgrime" conſiſts, with references to the work in which each firſt appeared, followed by a few obſervations on Barnfield's ſhare in it.

[I.]

"*When my Loue ſweares that ſhe is made of truth.*" This, with ſome verbal variations, is the ſame as No. 138 of Shakeſpeare's Sonnets.

[II.]

"*Two Loues I haue, of Comfort, and Deſpaire.*" This poem, alſo, with ſome ſlight variations, is the ſame as Sonnet 144.

[III.]

"*Did not the heauenly Rhetorike of thine eie.*" With ſome trifling variations this occurs in "Love's Labour's Loſt," 1598.

[IV.]

"*Sweet Cytherea, ſitting by a Brooke.*" Is found only in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime."

[V.]

"*If Loue make me forſworn, how ſhal I ſwere to loue.*" Printed, with ſlight variations, in "Love's Labour's Loſt," 1598.

[VI.]

"*Scarſe had the Sunne dride up the deawy morne.*" Occurs only in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime."

[VII.]

"*Faire is my loue, but not ſo faire as fickle.*" Found only in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime."

[VIII.]

"*If Muſicke and ſweet Poetrie agree.*" This Sonnet is taken from a ſmall collection of poems by Richard Barnfield, entitled "The Encomion of Lady Pecunia," printed in 1598. It occurs in the latter portion, called "Poems: in diuers humors," with the following heading: "To his friend Maiſter R. L. In praiſe of Muſique and Poetrie," but is omitted in the ſecond edition in 1605, entitled "Lady Pecunia."

[IX.]

"*Faire was the morne, when the faire Queene of loue.*" Occurs only in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime."

[X.]

"*Sweet Roſe, faire flower, vntimely pluckt, ſoon vaded.*" This likewiſe occurs only in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime."

[IX.]

"*Venus, with Adonis ſitting by her.*" This ſonnet, with ſome variations, including the following lines (9 to 14) which are ſubſtituted for thoſe in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime," occurs in B. Griffin's rare collection of ſeventy-two ſonnets, printed under the title of "Fideſſa," in 1596:—

"But he a wayward boy refuſde her offer,
And ran away, the beautious Queene neglecting:
Shewing both folly to abuſe her proffer,
And all his ſex of cowardiſe detecting.
Oh that I had my miſtris at that bay,
To kiſſe and clippe me till I ranne away!"

But the Rev. R. Greene, of Lichfield, in a communication to "Notes and Queries," vol. x. 1ſt ſer. contends, with much plauſibility, that the authorſhip ſhould be given to Shakeſpeare.

[XII.]

"*Crabbed age and youth cannot live together.*" Although the verſion in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime" is the firſt with which we are acquainted, yet it is probable that it made its appearance earlier, in Deloney's "Garland of Good Will," which was printed in or about 1596; but as no edition of ſo early a date is extant, it is impoſſible to ſpeak with certainty. At any rate, it is included, with variations, in ſeveral ſubſequent impreſſions of that popular work.

[XIII.]

"*Beauty is but a vaine and doubtfull good.*" Occurs only in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime."

[XIV.]

"*Good night, good reſt, ah neither be my ſhare.*" Occurs only in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime."

[XV.]

"*Lord howe mine eies throw gazes to the eaſt.*" Occurs only in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime."

[XVI.]

"*It was a lording's daughter, the faireſt one of three.*" Occurs only in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime."

[XVII.]

"*On a day alack the day.*" This poem is printed in "Love's Labour's Loſt," 1598. It occurs alſo in "England's Helicon," (a miſcellany of poetry, firſt publiſhed in 1600,) with Shakeſpeare's name appended to it. Both in the latter and in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime," the following two lines, forming the laſt couplet but one, are omitted :—

> "Thou for whom Jove would ſwear
> Juno but an Ethiop were."

[XVIII.]

"*My flocks feed not.*" This poem had, two years before, in 1597, with ſlight variations, appeared anonymouſly, with the muſic, in a collection of Madrigals, by Thomas Weelkes. It is printed alſo, with corrections,—ſuch as *moan* for *woe* in the laſt line but three,—in "England's Helicon," 1600, being there entitled "The unknowne Sheepheard's Complaint," and ſubſcribed *Ignoto*, a proof that Bodenham, the editor, was then unacquainted with the name of the author, but diſinclined to attribute it to Shakeſpeare, as had been done in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime," the year before, or to Weelkes, in whoſe collection it firſt appeared.

[XIX.]

"*When as thine eie hath choſe the dame.*" Occurs only in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime." But Mr. Halliwell, in his folio Shakeſpeare, vol. 16, p. 466-7, ſays, "A very early manuſcript copy of this poem, with many variations, is preſerved in a poetical miſcellany, compiled, I believe, ſome years before the appearance of 'The Paſſionate Pilgrime.'"

[XX.]

"*Live with me and be my love.*" This poem is aſſigned by name to Chriſtopher Marlowe in "England's Helicon," 1600, and what is called "Love's Anſwere" appears in the ſame collection, under the name of *Ignoto*, a ſignature ſometimes adopted by Sir Walter Raleigh. They are, beſides, attributed to theſe authors in Walton's "Angler," under the titles of "The Milk-maid's Song," and "The Milk-maid's Mother's Anſwer." Both, however, as printed in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime," and in "England's Helicon," are incomplete, but they are printed at length in Percy's "Reliques."

[XXI.]

"*As it fell upon a day.*" This ode, like No. 8, is printed as Barnfield's, among his "Poems: in diuers humors," 1598. It alſo appears in "England's Helicon," 1600, following "My flocks feed not," and is entitled "Another of the ſame Sheepheardes." From this latter obſervation, and his ſigning both *Ignoto*, the editor, Bodenham, not only avows his inability to point out the real authors, but diſallows the claims equally of Barnfield, Shakeſpeare, and Weelkes, under whoſe reſpective names they had been publiſhed ſo ſhort a time before; another proof of the laxity of editing and publiſhing in thoſe days.

[XXI*.]

"*Whilſt as fickle fortune ſmiled.*" Mr. Collier, in his firſt edition of Shakeſpeare, 1843, vol. 8, note, pp. 577-8, thus remarks on this poem: "It is a ſeparate production, both in ſubject and place, with a diviſion between it and Barnfield's poem which precedes it; nevertheleſs they have been incautiouſly coupled in ſome modern editions." In his ſecond edition, 1858, vol. 6, p. 692, note, publiſhed after he had changed his previous opinion that Barnfield was the rightful owner, he thus varies his dictum: "It is a ſeparate production, both in ſubject and place, with a ſlight diviſion (but no heading) between it and the poem which precedes it: nevertheleſs they have been coupled in ſome modern editions, moſt likely becauſe they are found erroneouſly united in Barnfield's 'Encomion,' 1598."

So far from theſe being two ſeparate productions, my impreſſion is that they were originally intended for one,

and cannot otherwiſe be conſidered without a direct violation of propriety. If we refer to Barnfield's "Encomion" of 1598, we find that the lines beginning "As it fell vpon a Day," down to "Faithfull friend, from flatt'ring foe," form one continuous poem, without any break or any interruption of the ſenſe, extending over three pages, and bearing the general title "An Ode." Had they been intended for two poems, they could eaſily have been arranged ſo; there is not only plenty of room for the purpoſe, but the book throughout is printed with ſuch accuracy as to induce a ſuppoſition that it was produced under the author's own inſpection. On the other hand, no certain inference that they ſhould form two poems inſtead of one can be drawn from the manner in which they appear in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime;" for in this work, as we ſee, there is no heading to any of the pieces, and the printer has uſed his own diſcretion in the arrangement of each page; conſequently it is only by the context that we can determine where one piece ends and another begins. Applying this teſt to the preſent caſe, I think we cannot avoid the concluſion that the author wrote theſe lines as one ode, and that by dividing it into two, as Mr. Collier does, we deſtroy the whole ſequence and moral, making the firſt portion end with as much unintelligible abruptneſs as the ſecond begins. The poet's object being to ſhow the ſimilarity of his griefs to thoſe of the nightingale, he devotes the lines terminating with the word "ſorrowing" to the bird; he then takes up his own woes with the line beginning "Whilſt as fickle fortune ſmiled," and enlarges upon them to the end of the ode. This view is confirmed by the ſucceeding line, "Thou and I were both beguiled," which, on any

other hypotheſis would be, as I have already ſaid, unintelligible. It is moreover more logical to put faith in what has evidently been prepared with care than in a reprint which is confeſſedly an unauthorized and fraudulent impreſſion. It ſhould be noticed that Mr. Halliwell, in his folio Shakeſpeare, prints them as two poems, but Mr. Knight as one.

Another curious circumſtance occurs with regard to this ode. The reprint of it in "England's Helicon," 1600, interpolates, after the line "Careleſs of thy ſorrowing," the following couplet:

> "Even ſo, poore bird like thee,
> None a-live will pitty mee."

And thus the poem, in that publication, terminates, although the lines are ſo appropriate to the ſubject, and ſo well adapted to ſupply a miſſing link of connection between the firſt and ſecond portions of the ode, that we might almoſt aſſume they had been introduced for this purpoſe. But as this is not the caſe, we are driven to the concluſion that the editor of "England's Helicon," inſtead of following Barnfield's publication, where he would have found the ode complete, made uſe of that in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime," imagining that it terminated, as there printed, at the bottom of the page. But feeling, like moſt readers, probably, that this ending was too abrupt for the ſubject, and falling into the ſame error as Mr. Collier, that the lines on the next page began a new ode, he added the couplet in queſtion as a more appropriate termination, experiencing as little compunction in the matter as Biſhop Percy did in "improving" the old ballads in his "Reliques." Although Mr. Dyce, Mr. Collier, Mr. C. Knight, and other

able editors, point out this interpolation, they do not ſeem to think it worthy the attention which I believe it deſerves. This couplet does not appear in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime" of 1612.

It appears, therefore, from the above enumeration, that only five out of the twenty-one pieces forming "The Paſſionate Pilgrime" poſſeſs anything like direct evidence of being from Shakeſpeare's hand, and this conſiſts in their firſt appearance in his acknowledged works, in their general reſemblance to his other compoſitions, and in the abſence of other claimants. Though eleven of the others are printed in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime," for, as far as we yet know, the firſt time, there is no ground whatever beyond the aſſertion on its title-page for attributing them to Shakeſpeare, while the ſlender merit of ſeveral of them decidedly negatives this aſſumption; the authorſhip of theſe, conſequently, is ſtill uncertain; while as to the remaining five, if any weight is to be allowed to ſuch ſtrong claims as thoſe founded on priority of publication by competent living authors, three muſt be aſſigned, as heretofore, to Barnfield and Griffin; one is no doubt, as is generally aſſumed, the work of Marlowe, and the laſt, which is quite unworthy of Shakeſpeare, was probably an anonymous piece, merely ſet to muſic by Weelkes.

Whatever may be thought of the claims of the other poets to their reſpective pieces, thoſe of Barnfield to the authorſhip of "If Muſique and ſweet Poetrie agree," and "As it fell upon a day," have been recently ſtrongly conteſted by Mr. Collier, and the honour aſſigned to Shakeſpeare, notwithſtanding that in his firſt edition of our great bard, he believes in Barnfield's own aſſertion of parentage, and diſagrees with Boſwell, who had ſug-

geſted that John Jaggard, in 1598, might have ſtolen Shakeſpeare's verſes, and attributed them to Barnfield. His reaſons for this change of opinion ſeem to me ſo inſufficient, and ſo derogatory to the honeſty as well as to the common ſenſe of Barnfield, that I think it only fair to the latter to give them a little conſideration; while, on the other hand, to do no injuſtice to Mr. Collier, I will firſt quote his own lateſt words on the ſubject, as they ſtand in his valuable "Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rareſt Books in the Engliſh Language," 2 vols. 8vo. 1865:

"It is no ſmall tribute to Barnfield that two poems printed by him, or for him, in 1598, having in the next year been inſerted in Shakeſpeare's 'Paſſionate Pilgrim,' were long thought by many to be the property of Barnfield, on account of his priority of claim. In 1598 the fine ſonnet in praiſe of Dowland and Spenſer, 'If muſic and ſweet poetry agree,' and the beautiful lyric, 'As it fell upon a day,' were firſt publiſhed as Barnfield's, in a work which then bore the following title:

"'The Encomion of Lady Pecunia, or The praiſe of Money.—*quærenda pecunia primum eſt, virtus poſt nummos.*—London, Printed by G. S. for Iohn Iaggard, and are to be ſolde at his ſhoppe neere Temple-barre, at the Signe of the Hand & ſtarre. 1598.' (4to.)

"John Jaggard, who publiſhed the above, was brother [or ſon] to W. Jaggard, who publiſhed Shakeſpeare's 'Paſſionate Pilgrim,' and in ſome unexplained manner the two poems we have deſignated, 'If muſic and ſweet poetry agree,' and 'As it fell upon a day,' the authorſhip of our great dramatiſt, found their way out of the hands of W. Jaggard into thoſe of John Jaggard, who, we may ſuppoſe, was in 1598 on the point of publiſhing Barn-

field's 'Encomion of Lady Pecunia:' there he inſerted them; but they, nevertheleſs, made their appearance in 1599 in 'The Paſſionate Pilgrim,' by which it was made to ſeem as if W. Jaggard had ſtolen the poems from J. Jaggard, becauſe the latter had printed them as Barnfield's in the year preceding. The reverſe was, however, the fact; and the matter ſtood thus doubtfully until the year 1605, when Barnfield (perhaps partly on this account) putting forth a new impreſſion of his 'Encomion' under a different title, and with many important changes, expreſsly excluded from that re-impreſſion the two poems, which he knew did not belong to him, and which he preſumed were the property of Shakeſpeare.

"Hence the eſpecial value of the ſecond edition of the 'Encomion,' ſince it may be ſaid to aſcertain that John Jaggard, wiſhing to ſwell Barnfield's ſmall volume in 1598, did ſo by inſerting in it two pieces that did not belong to the author of the reſt. The ſecond edition of Barnfield's 'Encomion,' under the title of 'Lady Pecunia, or the praiſe of Money,' was not known at all until a comparatively recent date; and ſtill more recently it was diſcovered that it did not contain the poems to which Barnfield ſeemed to have the earlieſt title. In 1605 Barnfield was too honeſt to retain what had been improperly attributed to him in 1598. The Sonnet and the Poem are therefore not to be traced in the volume in our hands, which forms part of the library of Bridgewater Houſe."

Surely no poet was ever deprived of his rightful property on lighter grounds than are here adduced by Mr. Collier for this ſummary ſpoliation of Barnfield. It is not that he conſiders Barnfield unequal to the compo-

ſition of the two pieces in queſtion, for in a ſubſequent paragraph he deſignates the "Encomion of Lady Pecunia" as "a very clever poem," and admits that "it is not ſurpriſing that it was popular;" but, ſolely becauſe he finds that a hitherto unknown edition of Barnfield's Poems, printed ſeven years after the firſt, omits two pieces which are contained in the firſt impreſſion, he comes to the haſty concluſion that theſe were not written by Barnfield, but relinquiſhed in a fit of repentance as quietly as, in the firſt inſtance, he had wrongfully appropriated them. As to the aſſertion that John Jaggard ſtole from his relative in order to ſwell Barnfield's volume which he was about to publiſh, this is mere conjecture: on the contrary, an inſpection of the two original volumes would ſhow the greater probability of William Jaggard having been the ſpoiler, for the purpoſe of ſwelling the proportions of "The Paſſionate Pilgrime," which is ſo ſmall in bulk that to eke it out a great part is printed only on one ſide of the leaf.

If Barnfield be really the appropriator of another man's works, the way in which he introduces his ſtolen goods is certainly remarkable, for on the back of the title-page appears the following dedication:—

"*To the learned, and accompliſht Gentleman, Maiſter Nicholas Blackleech, of Grayes Inne.*

"To you, that know the tuch of true Conceat;
(Whoſe many gifts I neede not to repeat)
I write theſe Lines: fruits of vnriper yeares;
Wherein my Muſe no harder Cenſure feares:
Hoping in gentle Worth, you will them take;
Not for the gift, but for the giuers ſake."

Here in the moſt unequivocal terms Barnfield claims the whole of the poems as his own; but with becoming

modeſty he excuſes them as being the fruits of his early years, for he was even at this time only twenty-four years old. And as a further confirmation of the truth of his aſſertion, one of the diſputed pieces, which is the very firſt in the book, is openly addreſſed to a friend, R. L., preſumed to be Richard Linch, author of "Diella," 1596, and ſome Sonnets inſerted in Drayton's "Legend of Robert Duke of Normandy," and in the ſame poet's "Matilda."

His work begins with "Sonnet I. To his friend Maiſter R. L. In praiſe of Muſique and Poetrie." Then follows, on the ſame page "Sonnet II. Againſt the Diſprayſers of Poetrie." On the reverſe is "A Remembrance of ſome Engliſh Poets," highly laudatory of Spenſer, Daniel, Drayton, and laſtly of Shakeſpeare. Immediately following this is the other diſputed piece, entitled "An Ode: As it fell upon a Day," conſiſting of twenty-eight couplets: then lines "Written, at the requeſt of a Gentleman, vnder a Gentlewoman's Picture;" "An Epitaph vpon the Death of Sir Philip Sidney, Knight: Lord-gouernour of Vliſſing;" "An Epitaph vpon the Death of his Aunt, Miſtreſſe Elizabeth Skrymſher;" concluding with, upon the top of the reverſe of the fourth leaf, "A Compariſon of the Life of Man." The above are ſo varied in ſtyle as to bear out the intention of the collection, which was to conſiſt of "Poems in divers Humours."

Although in that age literary plagiariſm was freely practiſed, it is hardly likely that an author of repute like Barnfield would be ſo bold as to appropriate the whole of two compoſitions of peculiar merit written by another; or aggravate a fraud liable to inſtant detection by ſuch an unequivocal claim to their authorſhip as he puts forth in his addreſs to Blackleech; and the im-

probability is ſtill greater when we conſider that the perſon whom he is accuſed of robbing was not only the moſt noted writer of the time, but then actually living, and the object, in the very next page, of his fervent eulogy. And that this good feeling was not interrupted is evidenced by his reprinting the ſame eulogy in his ſecond impreſſion, which would hardly have been the caſe had he, years before, been guilty towards Shakeſpeare of ſo unbluſhing a wrong. Moreover, his diſinclination to have the labours of others aſſigned to him is ſhown by his diſavowal in his earlier production, "Cynthia," printed in 1595, of two books imputed to him (probably Greene's "Funerals," 1594, and "Orpheus his Journey to Hell," 1595), to which his initials R. B. ſeem to have been fraudulently affixed. Nor is it the caſe of an unknown or incapable poet robbing his neighbour of that which he was himſelf unable to produce, for ſufficient poetic talent had already been ſhown in his "Affectionate Shepheard," publiſhed in 1594, when only twenty-one years old, and his ſubſequent poems fully ſuſtain this early promiſe. He has therefore the moſt eſſential points in his favour, namely, capability of production, diſtinct aſſertion of authorſhip, and priority of publication; to ſay nothing of the abſence of any hoſtile alluſions by his contemporaries.

In his volume entitled "Cynthia" is an ode ſo much reſembling "As it fell upon a day," that it is almoſt impoſſible to doubt that both proceeded from the ſame pen. It begins thus:

> "Nights were ſhort, & daies were long;
> Bloſſoms on the Hauthorn's hung:
> *Philomæle* (Night-Muſiques King)
> Tolde the comming of the ſpring."

Mr. Collier, in a previous article on this ſubject, inſerted in "Notes and Queries," 1856, thus ſpeaks of the ſecond edition of Barnfield's Poems:

"My miſtaken notion, twelve years ago [he alludes to the firſt edition of his Shakeſpeare] was, that Barnfield, in 1605, had republiſhed the whole of what had firſt appeared in 1598. This is not ſo. In 1605 he prefixed a general title-page, mentioning only three of the four diviſions of his original work, viz.:—1. 'Lady Pecunia, or The Praiſe of Money.' 2. 'A Combat betwixt Conſcience and Covetouſneſſe;' and 3. 'The Complaint of Poetry, or [for] the Death of Liberality.' He ſays not one word about what had been his fourth diviſion in 1508 [1598], 'Poems in divers humors;' but ſtill, on the very laſt leaf of the impreſſion of 1605, Barnfield places 'A Remembrance of ſome Engliſh Poets,' which had appeared as one of the 'Poems in divers humors,' in 1598. 'A Compariſon of the Life of Man,' a ſeven-line ſtanza, is alſo reprinted; all the reſt he ſeems purpoſely to have excluded as if they were not his."

From the above ſtatement it might be ſurmiſed that Barnfield had intended to exclude from his new edition the whole of the "Poems in divers humours;" but even were this the caſe, it would not have been occaſioned, I contend, by conſcientious ſcruples, but by private reaſons, which ſometimes influence authors even in the preſent day. A notable inſtance of ſuch omiſſions and alterations is to be found in Drayton's work, entitled "Idea," firſt printed in 1593. "This edition," (it is Mr. Collier, in his 'Bibliographical Account' before alluded to, who ſpeaks) "deſerves eſpecial remark, becauſe the work ſubſequently un-

derwent numerous and important changes, and more eſpecially becauſe it contains ſeveral poems that were never reprinted by the author: one of theſe is an elegy, as it may be called, upon the death of Sir Philip Sidney, whom Drayton celebrates as Elphin. It is to be obſerved alſo, that in poſterior impreſſions the arguments preceding the eclogues, and the mottos by which they are concluded, were omitted." The ſame reaſon which has been given by Mr. Collier for Barnfield's excluding from the new impreſſion the two diſputed pieces, namely, that they were not written by him, might be urged for the rejection of the "Epitaph upon the Death of his Aunt," or the lines "Written, at the requeſt of a Gentleman, under a Gentlewoman's Picture," and the four other pieces; but perhaps even he would hardly aſſert that theſe, any more than Drayton's omitted pieces, were pirated articles, and conſequently excluded from the new impreſſion. The true explanation of the re-appearance of the two which are there reprinted ſeems to be that there exiſted at the end of this volume, after the promiſe on the title-page as to the intended contents had been fulfilled, the whole of one blank page and part of another, which theſe two pieces could fill up; the "Remembrance of ſome Engliſh Poets" therefore conveniently occupies with its eighteen lines the laſt page, and the "Compariſon of the Life of Man," which conſiſts of only ſeven lines, the latter half of the laſt page but one. The ſelection of the former, which introduces with great reſpect both Shakeſpeare, whom he is accuſed of robbing of his Sonnet, and Spenſer, the ſubject of it, would hardly have been made had the author or the publiſher been conſcious of ſuch a crime; while, curiouſly enough,

its ſecond line contains the ſame epithet applied to Spenſer, namely, "deepe Conceit," which is uſed as a characteriſtic of his genius in the diſputed ſonnet, "In praiſe of Muſique and Poetrie."

But if the authority of Mr. Collier as a Shakeſpearian critic has converted many admirers of our early poetry to his own opinions, others whoſe judgment is entitled to reſpect have not been ſo influenced. Among the diſſentients, Mr. Halliwell, in his folio "Shakeſpeare," adheres to the view in favour of Barnfield's claims which he took in the preface to his reprint of "The Affectionate Shepheard" for the Percy Society, 1845; and the Rev. W. E. Buckley, an enthuſiaſtic ſtudent of our early literature, who was recently fortunate enough to diſcover, in the Bodleian, a ſecond copy of the ſecond edition of Barnfield's poems, 1605, had his previous ſuſpicions of the unſoundneſs of Mr. Collier's theory confirmed by a rigid compariſon of the two impreſſions, with the uſe of which collations I have been favoured for the purpoſe of the preſent work, and which would have removed any doubts, if they had exiſted in my mind, of the injuſtice done to Barnfield.

Of Barnfield's life little is known. That he was the ſon of a Staffordſhire gentleman, and was born in 1574; that he entered Brazen Noſe College, Oxford, in Nov. 1589, and matriculated there, appears from the univerſity records; and alſo, that he took a degree, probably in 1593, is proved by the title-page of his poems. In his "Cynthia," Sonnet IV., he alludes to his native county in the line, "As much as Po in clearenes paſſeth Trent." He was a member of Gray's Inn, and probably intended for the profeſſion of the law. No mention is made of him by Anthony à Wood, nor has

the date of his death been diſcovered. But, that he was on good terms with ſome of the moſt worthy among his contemporaries ſeems certain, judging from the eulogies, apparently emanating from a warm perſonal feeling, which appear in both editions of his poems, on Spenſer, Daniel, Drayton, and Shakeſpeare. So ſtrong, indeed, is his veneration for eminent contemporary poets, that, in his earlieſt production, "The Affectionate Shepheard," in addition to palpable imitations of them, particularly of the addreſſes of Venus to Adonis, he goes out of his way to teſtify his regard for Spenſer, Sidney, Fraunce, and Drayton. He is addreſſing Love, and ſpeaks of theſe friends, under their poetical appellations, in the following terms:

"By thee great Collin loſt his libertie,
By thee ſweet Aſtrophel forwent his joy;
By thee Amyntas wept inceſſantly,
By thee good Rowland liv'd in great annoy."

And again, in the ſame production, he alludes, thus feelingly, to his poetical friend, Abraham Fraunce, whoſe poem, "The Lamentations of Amyntas for the death of Phillis," dedicated to the Counteſs of Pembroke, to whoſe family he was beholden for education and advancement, was publiſhed in 1587.

"And thou, my ſweete Amintas, vertuous minde,
Should I forget thy learning or thy love,
Well might I be accounted but unkinde,
Whoſe pure affection I ſo oft did prove,
Might my poore plaints hard ſtones to pitty move!
His loſſe ſhould be lamented of each creature,
So great his name, ſo gentle was his nature."

In the Addreſs to the Reader, in his "Cynthia," he apologizes for it as "the firſt imitation of the verſe of that excellent Poet, Maiſter *Spencer*, in his *Fayrie Queene*."

The date of Fraunce's death has not been aſcertained; but the above lines prove that it muſt have occurred previous to 1594, in which year they firſt appeared.

Among the books found at Lamport was a ſmall volume, in manuſcript, of unpubliſhed poetry and proſe, evidently the production of Barnfield, as his name, thus, *Richard Barnfild*, occurs on one of the pages.

LIST OF EDITIONS.

I.

THE PASSIONATE PILGRIME. *By W. Shakeſpeare. AT LONDON* Printed for W. Iaggard. and are to be ſold by W. Leake, at the Grey-hound in Paules Churchyard. 1599. [16mo. 30 leaves.]

This is ſuppoſed to be the firſt edition. Only two copies are known; one in the Capell collection in Trinity College, Cambridge, which is very dirty from much uſe, and in which the date to the Sonnets is cut off; and the other, bound up with the unique "Venus and Adonis" of 1599, and the "Epigrams and Elegies" of Davies and Marlowe, which was found by the editor in September, 1867, among many precious books of old Engliſh poetry, in a lumber-room at Lamport Hall, near Northampton, the ſeat of Sir Charles Iſham, Bart. This latter is in the cleaneſt and moſt beautiful condition; and meaſures $4\frac{5}{8}$ by $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

The Capell copy is bound up with the "Venus and Adonis" of 1620. It was once in the poſſeſſion of "honeſt" Tom Martin of Palgrave, and a MS. note informs us that the volume coſt a former owner "but 3 halfpence."

II.

THE PASSIONATE PILGRIME. or *Certaine Amorous Sonnets, betweene* Venus *and* Adonis, *newly corrected and aug*-mented. *By W. Shakeſpere.* The third Edition. Where-unto is newly added two Loue-Epiſtles, the firſt from *Paris* to *Hellen*, and *Hellens* anſwere backe againe to *Paris.* Printed by W. Iaggard. 1612. [16mo. 62 leaves.]

In the Bodleian copy of this edition Malone has written the following note: "All the poems from Sig. D. 5 were written by Thomas Heywood, who was ſo offended at Jaggard for printing them under the name of Shakeſpeare, that he has added a poſtſcript to his 'Apology for Actors,' 4to. 1612, on this ſubject, and Jaggard, in conſequence of it, appears to have printed a new title-page to pleaſe Heywood, without the name of Shakeſpeare in it. The former title-page was, no doubt, intended to be cancelled, but by ſome inadvertence they were both prefixed to this copy, and I have retained them as a curioſity."

The corrected title-page is, except in the uſe of italics and Roman letters, and omitting "*By W. Shakeſpere*," the ſame as the firſt. This is called "The third Edition," but no other between 1599 and 1612 is known to exiſt.

III.

POEMS: Written by Wil. Shake-speare. Gent. Printed at *London* by *Tho. Cotes*, and are to be ſold by *Iohn Benſon*, dwelling in St. *Dunſtans* Churchyard. 1640. [16mo. Prefixed is a portrait of Shakeſpeare by W. Marſhall.]

This conſiſts of a number of the ſonnets, together with ſome of the poems from "The Paſſionate Pilgrim" and "A Lover's Complaint," as well as ſome tranſlations from Ovid and other pieces evidently not by Shakeſpeare.

IV.

A Collection of Poems, in Two Volumes; Being all the Miſcellanies of Mr. *William Shakeſpeare*, which were Publiſh'd by himſelf in the year 1609. and now correctly Printed from thoſe Editions. The Firſt Volume contains, I. VENUS and ADONIS. II. The Rape of LUCRECE. III. The Paſſionate Pilgrim. IV. Some Sonnets ſet to ſundry Notes of Muſick. The Second Volume contains One Hundred and Fifty Four Sonnets, all of them in Praiſe of his Miſtreſs. II. A Lover's Complaint of his Angry Miſtreſs. *LONDON:* Printed for *Bernard Lintott*, at the *Croſs-Keys*, between the Two Temple-Gates in *Fleet-ſtreet*. [2 vols. ſm. 8vo. *circa* 1709.]

The ſeparate title-pages to the pieces in this collection all bear the ſame date, 1609, which is that of the firſt edition of the Sonnets. But in the Bodleian copy of the firſt volume the title pages bear different dates, and are in other reſpects different. The copy in the Britiſh Muſeum, in addition to the date of 1709 on the general title, alſo bears different ones, that of Venus and Adonis being 1630; Lucrece, 1632; Paſſionate Pilgrim, 1599; Some Sonnets ſet to Sundry Notes of Muſick, 1599.

Independent of the general queſtion of the *authorſhip* of the pieces in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime," an intereſt of another nature attaches to the ſecond part of it, inaſmuch as it is put forth not ſo much as a literary work, but as a collection of *ſonnets which had been ſet to muſic*. Not only does this fact of poems of ſuch varied character being ſo treated illuſtrate the extent to which a taſte for muſic was then carried, but it is re-

markable on account of the music to all of them, with the exception of two ("My flocks feed not," and "Live with me and be my love") having utterly disappeared, or at least not being at this time capable of identification. (Oldys, in one of his manuscripts, says they were set to music by John and Thomas Morley, but he gives no proof of this). And in addition to these considerations we have to seek for an explanation of the meaning of the title itself, which, in consequence of there being no clue to it in the book, is sufficiently enigmatical to leave us the choice of three hypotheses; namely, 1. Whether the Music was composed for Sonnets already written? 2. Whether the Sonnets, like the melodies of Burns and Moore, were written to accompany existing Airs? or, 3. Whether the existing Sonnets were sung to Tunes already popular? On a review of the evidence we find proofs of all these practices having been adopted.

I. As to the question, Whether it was the custom to compose Music for Sonnets already written, we find proofs of it in numberless publications, among which are those of Byrd, Dowland, Morley, Weelkes (in whose collection of Madrigals, dated 1597, "My flocks feed not," first appeared), Kirbye, Wilbye, etc., who seem to have been indefatigable in procuring and collecting lyric poetry for professional purposes.

Another case is that of a work entitled "The Teares or Lamentations of a sorrowfull Soule; by Sir William Leighton, Knight, one of his Majesties Honourable Band of Gentlemen Pensioners," which was printed in a small volume in 1613; but which the next year appeared in folio, "Composed with Musical Ayres and Songs, both for Voyces and divers Instruments. Set

forth by Sir William Leighton," &c. Some of theſe were ſet by John Milton, the father of our great poet, who, though a ſcrivener by profeſſion, was a voluminous and excellent compoſer. And ſtill another example of the ſame appears in a work printed in 1614, entitled, "Ayres made by ſeverall Authors and ſung in the Maſke at the Marriage of the Right Honourable Robert Earle of Somerſet, and the Right Noble Lady Frances Howard. Set forth to the Lute and Baſe Violl, and may be expreſt by a ſingle voyce to eyther of thoſe Inſtruments." [4to. London, printed for Laurence Liſle.] Theſe "Ayres" are ſometimes found alone, but more frequently appended to the "Deſcription of a Maſke preſented in the Banquetting roome at Whitehall, etc." [4to. 1614.] And as a final illuſtration I may mention the "Ayres" of Alfonſo Ferraboſco [folio; London, printed by T. Snodham (*alias* T. Eſte), for John Brown, 1609], which contains the muſic to many of Ben Jonſon's Plays and Maſques.

An additional proof of muſicians being in the habit of adapting muſic to verſes already in exiſtence is apparent in the following fact.

In a curious as well as very rare little volume, for it was unknown both to Hawkins and Burney, entitled, "A Muſical Banquet, furniſhed with varietie of delicious Ayres, collected out of the beſt Authors; in Engliſh, French, Spaniſh, and Italian, by Robert Douland [ſon of the famous John Dowland]. London: Printed for Thomas Adams, 1610," [folio, and of which a reprint with the words, "Twenty-five copies only printed" (ſmall 8vo. Chiſwick Preſs, 1817), was edited by S. W. Singer], we find ſome ſpirited and intereſting verſes by the un-

fortunate favourite of Elizabeth, the Earl of Eſſex, Sir Philip Sydney, the gallant Earl of Cumberland, Sir Henry Lea, and others unknown. The following is the commencement of Douland's addreſs "To the Reader": "Gentlemen: Finding myſelf not deceived in the hope I had of your kinde entertayning my collection of Lute Leſſons which I lately ſet foorth, I am further encouraged to publiſh unto your cenſure theſe Ayres, being collected and gathered out of the labours of the rareſt and moſt judicious Maiſters of Muſick that either now are or have lately lived in Chriſtendome, whereof ſome I have purpoſely ſorted to the capacitie of young practitioners, the reſt by degrees are of greater depth and ſkill, ſo that like a carefull confectionary, as neere as might be I have fitted my Banquet for all taſtes; if happily [haply] I ſhall be diſtaſted by any, let them know what is brought unto them is dreſt after the Engliſh, French, Spaniſh, & Italian manner," &c. The names of the compoſers are John Douland, Ant. Holborne, R. Martin, R. Hales, D. Batchelar, Teſſeir, Dominico Maria Megli, Giulio Cacciori detto Romano.

II. It is, nevertheleſs, beyond a doubt that Engliſh poets occaſionally wrote words to accompany exiſting muſic, as in the caſe of "Muſica Tranſalpina," in which the Italian Madrigals were tranſlated into Engliſh, and publiſhed by N. Yonge, in 1588; an example followed by the eminent Sonnetteer, Thomas Watſon, in his "Firſt Set of Italian Madrigalls Engliſhed," in which the poetry, though not the muſic, is entirely original. [4to. London, Thomas Eſte, 1590]. It ſeems probable, indeed, from Orlando Gibbons' dedication of his "Firſt Set of Madrigals and Mottets" to Sir

Chriſtopher Hatton, dated 1612, that the courtiers of that period ſometimes employed themſelves in writing lyrics for their domeſtic Luteniſts. One of Watſon's odes bears ſo great a reſemblance in its commencement to that of Barnfield's poem, "As it fell upon a day," publiſhed eight years afterwards, that I cannot reſiſt the temptation of calling attention to it. It is a Birthday Ode to Queen Elizabeth, written probably in the May of 1590:—

> "This ſweet and merry month of May,
> While nature wantons in her pryme,
> And byrds do ſing, and beaſts do play,
> For pleaſure of the joyfull time," &c.

A ſtill more ſtriking inſtance of Sonnets being written for exiſting muſic is exemplified in a work which is ſo rare that only one copy, and that not perfect, is known to exiſt, entitled "A Handefull of Pleaſant Delites: Containing Sundrie new Sonets and delectable Hiſtories in Diuers Kindes of Meeter. Newly deuiſed to the Neweſt Tunes, that are now in uſe to be ſung. Euery Sonet orderly printed in his proper tune. With New Additions of Certain Songs, to Verie late deuiſed Notes, not commonly knowen, nor vſed heretofore. By Clement Robinſon and Diuers Others. At London, Printed by Richard Ihones, dwelling at the ſigne of the Roſe and Crowne near Holburne Bridge. 1584." [8vo.]

To this volume Dr. Drake, in his "Shakeſpeare and his Times," gives high praiſe. "It is," ſays he, "in a great meaſure, formed of ballads and ſongs, adapted to well-known popular tunes; and, though its poets have been arbitrarily confined in the ſtructure of their verſe by the precompoſed muſic, yet many of their lyrics

have a ſmoothneſs and ſweetneſs in the compoſition of their ſtanzas, which may even arreſt the attention of a modern ear. . . . Thirty-two poems occupy the pages of this pleaſing little volume, among which, at p. 23, is 'A New Courtly Sonet of the Lady Greenſleeves, to the new tune of Greenſleeves,' alluded to by Shakſpeare in the 'Merry Wives of Windſor,' Act ii. Sc. 1., and which throws ſome curious light on the female dreſs of the period." In addition to Robinſon, the authors conſiſt of Leonard Gibſon, J. Tomſon, P. Picks, Thomas Richardſon, and G. Mannington; the four latter being unknown elſewhere in the annals of poetry.

Another caſe is that of Anthony Munday, who in 1588 publiſhed his "Banqvet of Daintie Conceits; furniſhed with verie delicate and choyſe inuentions, to delight their mindes, who take pleaſure in Muſique, and there-withall to ſing ſweete Ditties, either to the Lute, Bandora, Virginalles, or anie other Inſtrument. Publiſhed at the deſire of bothe Honorable and Worſhipfull Perſonages, who haue had copies of diuers of the Ditties heerein contained." Theſe are adapted, as Munday aſſerts, to pre-compoſed tunes (chiefly popular dance tunes), and he apologizes for their occaſional imperfections on account of the difficulty of the taſk. Of this work only one copy is known.

III. As to the third hypotheſis, Whether exiſting Sonnets were ſometimes ſung to tunes already popular; we have an important contemporary witneſs to ſuch a practice in William Webbe, who, not confining it to Ballads only, extends it to the claſs of compoſitions found in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime." In his "Diſcourſe of Engliſh Poetrie, together with the Author's Judgment

touching the Reformation of our Engliſh Verſe," [4to. London, 1586], he ſpeaks of "the un-countable rabble of ryminge ballet-makers and compylers of ſenſeleſs ſonnets;" and adds, "there is not anie tune or ſtroke which may be ſung or plaide on inſtruments, which hath not ſome poetical ditties framed according to the numbers thereof: ſome to 'Rogero,' ſome to 'Trenchmore,' to 'Downright Squire,' to galliardes, to pavines, to jygges, to brawles, to all manner of tunes; which every fidler knows better than myſelf, & therefore I will let them paſſe." Here the claſs of muſic is named with which old Engliſh ditties were uſually coupled—dance and ballad tunes. And it is worthy of remark that, as before mentioned, with the exception of the ode entitled "My flocks feed not," the only piece in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime" which has come down to us, of which the muſic is known, is "Live with me and be my love," which being from the ſimplicity of its diction ſuited to the comprehenſion of the vulgar, became ſo popular as to be ſung to a common ballad tune.

On a review of all the circumſtances, conjoined with the poſitive aſſertion on the title-page that the Sonnets following had been ſet to "Sundry Notes of Muſic," I cannot reſiſt the concluſion that there was once in exiſtence an edition in which the Sonnets were accompanied by the muſic, but which, like many other ſmall books of that period, has for the preſent, at leaſt, diſappeared. As a caſe in point, I may mention my finding among the books at Lamport an hitherto unknown edition of Deloney's "Strange Hiſtories," with the muſical notes, dated 1602—the earlieſt one previouſly known being 1607; while one, quoted by Percy and Ritſon as of the date of 1612, has hitherto, like an edition printed

as early as 1596, or thereabouts, eluded the moſt diligent ſearch. And that this kind of loſs is much greater than is generally ſuppoſed, is illuſtrated again by the library at Lamport, to which we owe the preſervation of more than a dozen works, the very names of which had not previouſly reached us. But that collections of muſic were, from the conſtant uſe to which they were ſubjected, peculiarly liable to deſtruction, is eaſily underſtood, and is proved by the caſe of the ſix following works, (to mention no more), of each of which only a ſingle copy is aſcertained to ſurvive:—

I. "The Cittharn Schoole," by Antony Holborne. [P. Short, 1597; 4to.]

II. A little tract by John Farmer, entitled "Divers and Sundry waies of two parts in one, to the number of fortie, uppon one playn ſong," etc. [T. Eſte, 1591.]

III. "Ayres for four Voyces," by Michael Cavendiſh, [P. Short, 1599, folio].

All theſe were till lately utterly unknown, even by name, to muſical hiſtorians and bibliographers.

IV. "Ultimum Vale, or the Third Book of Ayres of 1, 2, 4 Voyces," [folio, London, 1608.]

V. "Private Muſicke," by M. Peerſon, [4to. 1620, in the Douce Collection, Oxford.]

VI. "Varietie of Leſſons: viz. Fantaſies, Pavins, Galliards, Almaines, Corantoes, and Volts," etc. By Robert Dowland: with a Treatiſe on Lute-playing by J. Dowland, [folio, London, 1610.]

The following extracts from Chappell's "Popular Muſic of the Olden Time," ſeem too appropriate to this ſubject to require any apology for their inſertion.

"During the long reign of Elizabeth," he obſerves, "muſic ſeems to have been in univerſal cultivation, as

well as in univerſal eſteem. Not only was it a neceſſary qualification for ladies and gentlemen, but even the city of London advertiſed the muſical abilities of boys educated in Bridewell and Chriſt's Hoſpital, as a mode of recommending them as ſervants, apprentices, or huſbandmen. . . . They had muſic at dinner; muſic at ſupper; muſic at weddings; muſic at funerals; muſic at night; muſic at dawn; muſic at work; and muſic at play."

With a taſte for muſic thus generally diffuſed among all claſſes, both high and low, it might be ſuppoſed that the number of works, publiſhed either as inſtructions or as original compoſitions, muſt have been proportionally great. And that this was ſo is plain from the quantity publiſhed in England alone during an interval of forty years, between 1589 and 1627, for among thoſe which have come down to us are the claſſical productions of Byrd, Watſon, Dowland, Eſte, Mundy, Yonge, Carlton, Morley, Weelkes, Kirbye, Wilbye, Bennett, Holborne, Farmer, Cavendiſh, Pilkington, Robinſon, Bateſon, Gibbons, Ward, Hilton and others. Yet amidſt all this flood of muſic we ſeek in vain, with two exceptions, for the notes of muſic to which the Sonnets in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime" were ſung. But a poſſible explanation may be found in the following obſervations of Mr. Chappell in his work already quoted :—

"The ſcholaſtic muſic of that age," he ſays, "great as it was, was ſo entirely devoted to harmony, and that harmony ſo conſtructed upon old ſcales, that ſcarcely anything like tune could be found in it. . . . . No line of demarcation could be more complete than that between the muſic of the great compoſers of the time and what may be termed the muſic of the people.

Perhaps, the only inſtance of a tune by a well-known muſician of that age having been afterwards uſed as a ballad tune, is that of 'The Frog Galliard,' compoſed by Dowland. Muſicians held ballads in contempt, and the great poets rarely wrote in ballad metre."

But even with the muſic publiſhed in England our ſtock of native growth is not exhauſted, as is proved by the following obſervations of Mr. Chappell, which are of very conſiderable importance as throwing light on the ſeveral points we have been diſcuſſing:—

"We are indebted," he ſays, "to foreign countries for the preſervation of many of the works of our beſt muſicians of this age, as well as of *our popular tunes.* Dr. Bull's muſic is chiefly to be found in foreign manuſcripts, in one of which is 'God ſave the King.' Dowland tells us that 'ſome part of his poor labours' had been printed in eight cities beyond the ſeas, viz., Paris, Antwerp, Cologne, Nuremburg, Frankfort, Leipzig, Amſterdam, and Hamburg. Much of the muſic printed in Holland in the ſeventeenth century was alſo by Engliſh compoſers. The right of printing muſic in England was a monopoly, generally in the hands of one or two muſicians, and therefore very little, and only ſuch as they choſe, could be printed. Hence the ſcarcity, as well as the frequent imperfection, of theſe early works. This monopoly was held by Tallis and Byrd from 1575 to 1596, then by Morley and his aſſignee."

But a ſimilar monopoly did not extend to the literature, either in manuſcript or in print, of that time, as we ſee by the pieces reprinted in the ſeveral poetical miſcellanies then popular, and in muſical works, the latter of which contain many ſonnets and odes written

by authors of greater or leſs merit. To the muſical collections of the age of Elizabeth and James, indeed, we are indebted for the preſervation of many moſt beautiful ſpecimens of lyric poetry not elſewhere to be met with, as well as for the means of completing ſome others of which only imperfect verſions had appeared in the poetical miſcellanies of the period; and which, it is highly probable, without the care and accompaniments of ſuch enlightened and enthuſiaſtic profeſſors of muſic as thoſe already mentioned, would either have never been publiſhed, or would have ſilently diſappeared. That theſe compilations were made, generally, without the connivance of the authors is moſt probable, as in very few caſes are their names appended. We know to what an extent the practice prevailed in thoſe times of poetical compoſitions being circulated in manuſcript, and as they were not, like muſic, under the protection of the law, it was open to any publiſher to appropriate and print them. The "Sonnets" and "Songs" of Shakeſpeare in "The Paſſionate Pilgrime," the "Epigrammes" of Davies, and other well-known works, are caſes in point.

This opinion, however, of the excellence of the lyric poetry of that age is not ſhared by our eminent muſical hiſtorian Dr. Burney, who, in his "Hiſtory of Muſic," ſhows that whatever may be his merits as a muſician, he poſſeſſed little poetic taſte. "Indeed," he ſays, "in more than twenty ſets, publiſhed between the years 1588 and 1624, including almoſt four hundred and fifty Madrigals and Songs in parts, it would be difficult to find any one, of which the words can be peruſed with pleaſure. The ſonnets of Spenſer and Shakſpeare, many of which are worthy of their authors, were in-

deed not publiſhed till about the end of the ſixteenth century; but afterwards, it is wonderful that none of them were ſet by our beſt muſical compoſers, except one of Shakſpeare's." And in this concluding obſervation moſt readers will concur.

In more recent times, however, according to communications from Mr. A. Roffe, in Notes and Queries, vols. x. and xi., 2nd Ser., two of the Odes, namely, "On a day alack the day," and "Crabbed Age and Youth," have found ſeveral compoſers.

The former (he ſays) forms one of the Elegies by Jackſon of Exeter, who has ſet it very elegantly for three male voices. It is ſet as a ſolo by T. Chilcot of Bath, about 1750; and as a duet by Sir H. Biſhop. Again, within theſe few years, the poem has been uſed for a prize glee, compoſed for four male voices, by W. P. Stevens. In this inſtance the compoſer omits the laſt four lines, and cloſes at the words, "That I am forſworn for thee." The laſt ſix lines of the poem, beginning "Do not call it ſin in me," will be found ſet as a ſolo for Lyſander in J. C. Smith's "Fairies"; and theſe ſame ſix lines have alſo been ſet by M. P. King, as a duet for ſoprano (or tenor) and baſs. This compoſition has no accompaniment, and is in the old ſtyle of continued imitation between the two voices.

As to the ſecond ode; "Crabbed Age and Youth," this (ſays Mr. Roffe) has been very beautifully ſet by R. J. Stevens as a glee for four male voices, and is a well-known compoſition. There are at leaſt three other ſettings of theſe words: one of theſe, by Signor Giordani, about 1780, is a duet, apparently either for ſopranos or tenors; the other two ſettings are both by Sir H. Biſhop,—the firſt as a ſong for Olivia in "Twelfth Night," and

the ſecond, a totally different compoſition, is a dramatic trio for Roſalind, Celia, and Touchſtone, and was written for a muſical revival of "As You Like It."

It is ſatisfactory to find that the reputation of Dowland, once ſo great, ſtill ſurvives. In the "Athenæum" of April, 1868, we read: "A madrigal, by Dowland, was the other day ſung at a concert of one of the vocal ſocieties of Berlin. If we are not miſtaken, our Engliſh unaccompanied vocal muſic has always 'held its own,' even in the excluſive Sing-Akademie of the Pruſſian capital."

And the following extract, relative to Dowland and Shakeſpeare, from Mr. J. P. Collier's "Lyrical Poems, ſelected from Muſical Publications between the years 1589 and 1600," printed for the Percy Society, 1844, ſeems, for ſeveral reaſons, worthy of a place here:—

"A peculiar intereſt attaches to one of the pieces, ['To Cynthia: My thoughts are wing'd with hopes'] in John Dowland's 'Firſt Book of Songs' (p. 57), on account of the initials of 'W. S.' being appended to it, in a manuſcript of the time preſerved in the Hamburgh City Library. It is inſerted in 'England's Helicon,' 4to. 1600, as from Dowland's Book of Tablature. without any name or initials; and looking at the character and language of the piece, it is at leaſt not impoſſible that it was the work of our great dramatiſt. . . . . If we were to take it for granted, that a ſonnet in 'The Paſſionate Pilgrim,' 1599, was by Shakeſpeare, becauſe it is there attributed to him, we might be ſure that he was a warm admirer of Dowland,

'whoſe heavenly touch
Upon the lute doth raviſh human ſenſe.'

However, it is more than likely, that the ſonnet in

which this paſſage is found was by Barnfield, and not by Shakeſpeare: it was printed by Barnfield in 1598, and reprinted by him in 1605, notwithſtanding the intermediate appearance of it in 'The Paſſionate Pilgrim.'"

THE ISHAM REPRINTS.

EPIGRAMMES AND ELEGIES

BY DAVIES AND MARLOWE.

This work is printed for ſubſcribers only, and the impreſſion ſtrictly limited to one hundred and thirty-one copies, of which twenty-five are on large paper, and ſix on vellum. Every copy is numbered and ſigned by the editor.

Small Paper. N°.

EPIGRAMMES:

WRITTEN BY

SIR JOHN DAVIES;

AND

CERTAINE OF OVID'S ELEGIES:

TRANSLATED BY

CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE.

ACCURATELY REPRINTED FROM A RARE EARLY EDITION IN THE POSSESSION OF

SIR CHARLES ISHAM, Bart.

WITH A PREFACE

BY CHARLES EDMONDS,

EDITOR OF THE POETRY OF THE ANTI-JACOBIN.

LONDON:

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1870.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THESE two ſmall works were the production of two noted authors, whoſe fame reſts upon more enduring foundations than theſe effuſions, for the licenſe and coarſeneſs of which the only apology that can be made is that they were the outpourings of hot impetuous youth, publiſhed in an age when plain ſpeaking and indecent ribaldry too often paſſed current for wit and mirth. That they poſſeſs a certain literary value at the preſent day is ſhown by their having been thought worthy of re-impreſſions by the Rev. A. Dyce and others, and thoſe of Davies more recently by the Rev. A. B. Groſart, who has been enabled to include in his complete edition of the works of this author pieces not hitherto publiſhed.

The author of the "Epigrammes" became diſtinguiſhed in after life as a ſtateſman, and filled the offices of Solicitor-General and Attorney-General in Ireland, repreſented the boroughs of Corfe Caſtle and Newcaſtle-under-Lyne, and was Lord Chief Juſtice at the time of

his death in 1626. The verſatility of his mind is ſhown in works of ſuch different characters as "Noſce Teipſum," a poem on the nature and immortality of the ſoul, firſt printed in 1599; "Orcheſtra," a poem on dancing, firſt printed in 1596; in which art he is ſaid to have been, like another legal dignitary, Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, a great proficient; "Hymns of Aſtræa," or acroſtic verſes in praiſe of Q. Elizabeth, 1599; a tranſlation of the firſt fifty pſalms, and other ſmaller pieces; while his ability as a political and legal writer is evinced in his "Diſcovery of the True Cauſes why Ireland was never entirely ſubdued," a work of ſuch value as to win the high praiſe of the Earl of Chatham; and in ſome profeſſional treatiſes, which may ſtill be referred to with advantage.

Of the "Epigrammes," Mr. Dyce obſerves: "Like other collections of the kind which came from the preſs a little later, theſe Epigrams are for the moſt part Satires in miniature. They poſſeſs ſome poignancy of ridicule and ſome vigour of expreſſion, but hardly enough to juſtify the applauſes which they once called forth; and they chiefly recommend themſelves to readers of the preſent day as illuſtrating the manners and "humours" which prevailed towards the cloſe of Elizabeth's reign. When Davies republiſhed his Poems in 1622 he did not admit a ſingle Epigram into the volume."

The "Elegies" were the juvenile production of Chriſtopher Marlowe, one of the greateſt of our dramatic poets, who, after leading a life of great profligacy, met with a violent death, under diſgraceful circumſtances, in the year 1593, in the thirty-firſt year of his age.

Of theſe "Elegies" Mr. Dyce thus ſpeaks: "Taken

altogether, this verſion does ſo little credit either to Marlowe's ſkill as a tranſlator or to his ſcholarſhip, that one is almoſt tempted to believe it was never intended by him to meet the eye of the world, but was made merely as a literary exerciſe at an early period of life, when claſſical ſtudies chiefly engaged his attention. We look in vain for the graces of Ovid. In many paſſages we ſhould be utterly puzzled to attach a definite meaning to the words if we had not the original at hand; and in many others the Latin is erroneouſly rendered, the miſtranſlations being ſometimes extremely ludicrous. I doubt if more can be ſaid in praiſe of this verſion than that it is occaſionally ſpirited and flowing."

When theſe tracts were publiſhed cannot be aſcertained, none of the editions, of which there were ſeveral, bearing dates or printers' name. Ritſon believes them to have been firſt printed in 1596 or 1597. Neither is it known whether they were iſſued with the connivance of Davies, for as it was the cuſtom in thoſe days to circulate poems widely in manuſcript before their appearance in print, and they are mentioned in Guilpin's "Skialetheia," 1598, where Davies is termed "our Engliſh Martiall;" in Sir John Harington's "Metamorphoſis of Ajax," 1596; in Baſtard's "Chreſtoleros," 1598, &c., and they all bear his initials I. D.; the author's name could have been no ſecret. Shakeſpeare's "Venus and Adonis," it may be remarked, was noticed by Lodge in his "Scillaes Metamorphoſis," in 1589, which was four years before its public appearance in print. But there were perfectly obvious reaſons why he would not like to openly avow himſelf the author of pieces, which, though they might increaſe his reputation for wit and humour, would be conſidered as highly

indecorous in a young and riſing barriſter. It is ſignificant that when he brought out a new edition of his Poems a few years before his death the Epigrammes were omitted. What was thought of them by the authorities was ſhown by that memorable event in the annals of literature when, to uſe the words of Warton, in his Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, "in the year 1599 the Hall of the Stationers underwent as great a purgation as was carried on in Don Quixote's library. Marſton's 'Pygmalion,' Marlowe's 'Ovid,' the 'Satires of Hall and Marſton,' the 'Epigrams' of Davies and others, and the 'Caltha Poetarum,' were ordered for immediate conflagration by the prelates Whitgift and Bancroft," together with other works, that of Guilpin's, named above, being one. Notwithſtanding this interdiction, ſeveral editions of both works were ſecretly printed, all of which, in conſequence of the haſty and ſurreptitious manner in which they were prepared, abound with the groſſeſt errors.

LIST OF EDITIONS.

I.

EPIGRAMMES AND ELEGIES. By I. D. and C. M. At Middleborough [n. d. 12mo. A—G 3, in fours. 26 leaves.]—[*Sir C. Iſham.*]

This is the edition now reprinted, and though for reaſons hereafter given it is not in my opinion the very earlieſt impreſſion, yet to judge merely from its containing, like the one next to be deſcribed, only "Certaine of Ovids Elegies," it muſt have preceded all thoſe which include the whole of his Three Books. Notwithſtanding its imprint of *Middleborough*, there is as much probability,

if the character of the type and of the miſprints be evidence, that it iſſued from the ſame preſs as "The Paſſionate Pilgrime," and conſequently a London one, as that the edition next deſcribed was printed abroad and by foreigners.

II.

EPIGRAMMES AND ELEGIES. By I. D. and C. M. At Middleborugh; [no date, duodecimo. A. 2 leaves. B—C in fours].—[*Britiſh Muſeum*].

This copy is deficient of one leaf (A 4), and was ſold at Bindley's ſale for £8 18*s.* 6*d.* It bears the following autograph note by that eminent collector: "This is the original and genuine edition: of extreme rarity; printed abroad, and uncaſtrated."

This opinion is, I think, only partially correct. That the Bindley impreſſion was printed abroad is unqueſtionable, but inſtead of the works firſt iſſuing from a foreign preſs, I believe that we owe them to a London one; for their groſſneſs, though occaſionally remarkable, not being greater than that which characteriſes many other works then openly circulated, they would not be likely, in the opinion of the putters-forth, to incur the cenſure of the authorities, and therefore no neceſſity would exiſt for their being printed elſewhere than in the metropolis. When, to cite only one example, it was ſeen that Sir John Harington's tranſlation of the "Orlando Furioſo," 1596, though disfigured occaſionally by ſuch unneceſſary groſſneſs as would have ſhocked Arioſto himſelf, had been produced under the ſpecial ſanction of the "maiden queen," and was never interfered with, it might be difficult for publiſhers to gueſs what would be ſufficiently licentious to bring down upon them the cenſure of the Church. And therefore I think that it was only ſubſequent to their original publication in London, and in conſequence of their being included among the books burnt at Stationers' Hall in June, 1599, that the expedient of reprinting theſe Epigrammes and Elegies at Middleburgh, in Holland, was firſt reſorted to.

That no copy with a *London* imprint is known to exiſt militates nothing againſt this ſuppoſition, my recent diſcovery of ſo many hitherto unknown editions as well as works encouraging us to hope for future reſuſcitations of books of equal or even greater importance.

III.

ALL OVID'S ELEGIES: 3 Bookes. By C. M. EPIGRAMS by J. D. At Middlebourgh; [n. d. 12mo. A—F, in eights, including title.] [48 leaves].

"A later edition, which I have uſed, and which contains the 'Elegies' complete, with their more objectionable paſſages rather heightened than ſoftened down, is probably that which was burnt at Stationers' Hall by order of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Biſhop of London, in June, 1599." Dyce; who refers to it as edition B. A duplicate verſion of Eleg. XV. lib. i. is aſcribed to B. J., probably Ben Jonſon, and if ſo, it muſt have been his earlieſt printed production.

IV.

ALL OVID'S ELEGIES; 3 Bookes. By C. M. EPIGRAMS by J. D. At Middlebovrgh; [n. d. 12mo.] [Referred to by Mr. Dyce as ed. C.]

Editions of the two works continued to be printed together, with *Middleburgh* on the title, and without date, but probably in London, as late as 1640. As to recent impreſſions, both were included by the Rev. A. Dyce, in his editions of "Marlowe's Works," in 1850 and 1865; and Mr. G. Robinſon, in his edition of "Marlowe's Works," 3 vols. Pickering, 1826, has likewiſe inſerted the "Epigrammes" and both verſions of the "Elegies." The "Epigrammes" alſo appear in the new edition of the "Complete Works of Sir John Davies," now in courſe of publication by the Rev. A. B. Groſart. An edition of the "Certaine" impreſſion of the Elegies, limited to twenty-five copies, was printed a few years ſince, without date, by Mr. Maitland.

The "Middleburgh" here mentioned is the capital of the Iſle of Walcheren, the firſt incorporated city of Holland and Zealand that ever exiſted, and once of conſiderable importance to Engliſh commerce, as enjoying the excluſive right of depoſit for the cloths imported from London. Chaucer, in deſcribing the Merchant in the Canterbury Tales, alludes to the conſtant traffic "Betwixen Middleburgh and Oréwell," and Caxton is ſuppoſed to have had an agency here. It is alſo the city in which the teleſcope was in-

vented. On its capture from the Spaniards by the Dutch in 1574 they immediately aboliſhed the Roman Catholic worſhip and eſtabliſhed a free preſs. In conſequence it ſeems to have been ſelected as a convenient place for printing various Engliſh books which might have met with oppoſition from the authorities in England. As early as 1582 Robert Brown's "Lives of all True Chriſtians," of which a copy is preſerved in Trinity College, Dublin, was printed here, as alſo were ſeveral other Engliſh books before the cloſe of the ſixteenth century; among them Dudley Fenner's "Song of Songs," and ſome pieces of that extraordinary character, Hugh Broughton. In 1584 R. Schilders, who ſtyles himſelf printer to the States of Zealand, publiſhed here a Dutch tranſlation of Lord Burleigh's celebrated tract "On the Execution of Juſtice in England," &c., which had firſt appeared about 1578; and in 1599 an edition of John Rainolde's "Overthrow of Stage Playes," ſome copies of which bear the date of 1600.

Now Ready. An accurate re-impreſſion, printed for the Subſcribers only, of the following intereſting work, of which only two copies are known :

Newes out of Powles Churchyarde.

Now newly renued and amplifyed according to the accidents of the preſent time, 1579, and otherwiſe entituled fyr Nummus. Written in Engliſh Satyrs. Wherein is reprooved exceſſiue and unlawfull ſeeking after riches, and the euill ſpending of the ſame. Compyled by E. H. Gent.

Imprinted at London by John Charlewood, and Richard Jhones. [8vo. Black Letter.]

*** The impreſſion of this work is ſtrictly limited to One Hundred and Twenty-nine Copies, namely :

One Hundred on Small Paper, price 10*s.* 6*d.* each.

Twenty-five on Large Paper, price 21*s.*

Four on Vellum, two of which are of the Larger Size.

This curious and exceſſively rare poetical work, by Edward Hake, was found by the editor at Lamport Hall on the ſame occaſion, in September, 1867, as brought to light the hitherto unknown edition of "Shakeſpeare's Venus and Adonis," dated 1599, as well as many other rare and undeſcribed productions of the Elizabethan era. *Till then only one copy was ſuppoſed to be in exiſtence.*

Its *Rarity*, however, is not its only recommendation, for it throws much light on the manners and cuſtoms of the time. It conſiſts of a ſpirited dialogue (in eight Satyrs, as they are called,) between Bertulph and Paul

as they walk in the aiſle of St. Paul's Cathedral, then a favourite reſort both for buſineſs and pleaſure. The author, who was Under Steward of Windſor, and a dependant of the great Earl of Leiceſter, to whom he dedicates this work, inveighs with much ſeverity on the abuſes in all branches of ſociety, attacking the rapacity and idleneſs of Church dignitaries, the corruption and partiality of judges and the greedineſs of counſel and attorneys; the tricks and practiſes of phyſicians, apothecaries and ſurgeons; the unneceſſary extravagance of living and conſequent ruin of thoughtleſs perſons; the wickedneſs of bawds, uſurers, brokers, &c., and introducing alluſions to unlawful ſports, the ſumptuary laws then in force, &c.

Of its claims to notice Mr. Payne Collier thus ſpeaks in his recently publiſhed "Bibliographical and Critical Account of the rareſt Books in the Engliſh Language":—

"There is no more rare or more curious work than this in our language. Only a ſingle copy of it is known (that we have uſed); and, although mentioned by later bibliographers, it was unknown to Ritſon, and nobody has yet pretended to give a notion of its contents. We ſhall do ſo in more detail than uſual." And to this purpoſe he devotes no leſs than ſix pages.

*** *Subſcribers' names can be ſent to the publiſhers, Meſſrs. H. Sotheran & Co., 136, Strand, London; or to the editor, Mr. Charles Edmonds (Sackett and Edmonds), 11, Bull Street, Birmingham.*

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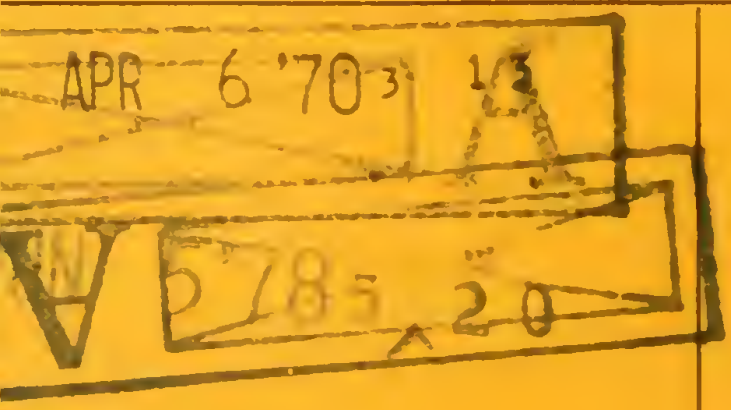

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